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This Report has been edited by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Superintendent of the Northern Circle, who officiated as Director General from May, 1910, to February, 1912.

J. H. MARSHALL,

Director General of Archæology in India

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CONSERVATION.

IN the work of conservation the great centres of Mughal architecture—Delhi, Agra and Lahore—figure again most prominently. It was mentioned in last year's Report that in the Delhi Fort a commencement had been made to fence off the archæological area from the grounds occupied by modern barracks. The iron railing erected for this purpose has now been completed, except for short lengths at three different points where a servants' godown and two wash-houses are still to be removed by the Military Works Department. It is hoped that they will not for long obstruct the completion of the work. There will be three entrances to the enclosure: one, the main entrance, in the archway of the Naqqār Khāna; another to the south of the Dīwān-i-'āmm, to be used as a service gate; and the third near the Shāh Burj leading to the Mōtī Maḥall Battery, for the use of the garrison.[1]

The archæological area thus enclosed comprises the ancient garden Hayāt Bakhsh or "Life-giver," the resuscitation of which will add in no small degree to the charm of Shāh-jahān's palace. By the end of last year the minor causeways, regularly intersecting the four quarters of the garden, had been completed. Their miniature water channels have been plastered within and without, where necessary, the sandstone curbs of the pathways completed and the intervening space spread with *bajrī*. The whole of the garden level has now been lowered to the required depth below the causeways and the surface prepared for the planting of grass. For some years the water supply has been a question of great difficulty. After many projects had been rejected, a scheme involving the use of electricity as the motive power for the pumps has now been adopted. "At the end of the year," the late Mr. Tucker wrote, "the work was well in hand, practically the whole of the year's allotment having been expended in the purchase and collection of pipes, in securing tanks and in excavating for their foundations. Every effort is being made so that an efficient water supply may be ready by the end of next rains, and it is hoped that at last the Superintendent of gardens will be able to plant the grass, trees and shrubs which are to be the completing note in the harmonious chord of waterways, terraces and pavilions."

[1] Cf. *Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Surveyor, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1900.* Allahabad, pp. 6 and 11 ff.

One of these garden-pavilions belonging to the Shāh-Burj or Royal Tower was mentioned in last year's Report as having been severely damaged in the earthquake of the 4th April 1905 and successfully repaired in 1908. A special article on the Shāh-Burj and the adjoining marble pavilion is contributed to the present Report by Mr. Gordon Sanderson.

The most important work in the Agra Fort was the conservation of Akbar's palace. This work, especially as regards the shattered west front, proved one of exceptional difficulty and required Mr. Tucker's constant attention and advice. It was strictly limited to conservation, except where structural safety required an extension of this policy. The south-west corner which for the most part consisted of a facing of modern brickwork supporting a broken wall, had to be rebuilt. "Throughout the course of the work," Mr. Tucker wrote, "where stone has been removed owing to its insecurity, it has been replaced by stone; elsewhere small country bricks have been employed with wide recessed joints. This has been found to give a very good effect after a few years. In some places it has also been necessary to use stone beams for door-lintels, etc."

"The most noticeable effect of the repairs to the east side will be seen from outside the Fort. Thence it will be observed that many windows and doors, which formerly opened on to a spacious balcony running from end to end of the façade have been re-opened, while others, cut through the wall to satisfy modern requirements, have been closed up again. The somewhat unattractive façade, in short, has resumed something of its pristine state, but this is mainly due to the conservation of its central feature. This consisted of a double-storied open arcade, three bays in width, with a balcony to each floor and a deep *chajja* overhead. In common with the rest of the palace, the construction was of the Hindu lintel and bracket type and of rich design. Before conservation little of this was to be seen, the spaces between the columns having been filled with rubble and blackened plaster. On the removal of this from the ground floor the belvedere was found to be in very fair condition and this encouraged the hope that the upper floor would be tolerably perfect. For structural reasons it was advisable to demolish the wall at this point, and if anything but a reconstruction had been decided upon, all trace of the original feature would have been lost. Unfortunately, nearly every column which remained was so unsound that it had to be replaced by a new one, while most of the brackets had broken off short and were without bearing."

Other works of conservation in the Agra Fort related to the fountains in the Angūrī Bāgh, the Amar Singh Gate, the Chitōṛī Gate and the Mōtī Masjid. For further particulars I must refer the reader to Mr. Tucker's Progress Report for the year under review.

In the Lahore Fort repairs were carried out on the Dīwān-i-'āmm, the Chhōṭī Khwābgāh and the Shīsh Mahall. The Dīwān-i-'āmm or Public Audience Hall, which occupies the centre of the Fort, is of particular interest as one of the first buildings of Shāh-jahān's reign. Its historical associations are many, but from an architectural point of view it is disappointing, the entire superstructure being modern. As the present volume contains a special article on this building and on the measures adopted for its conservation, it will be unnecessary here to enter into any further detail.

The pavement of the Chhōṭī Khwābgāh or Lesser Sleeping-chamber of Shāh-jahān was repaired and the little formal garden in front of that edifice laid out in the original style. Some of the old unsightly trees were removed and young cypresses planted along the pathways. The brick paths set in herring-bone pattern with borders of *sang-i-Mūsa* have also been repaired.

As regards the Shīsh Mahall, or Palace of Mirrors, the problem of supporting the thin ceiling of glass and lacquer which had become detached from the beams of the roof proved extremely difficult of solution. For the last five years the interior of the hall was disfigured by a row of unsightly scaffold poles and battens of timber which upheld the rotten beams of the ceiling. It is now proposed to attach the thin ceiling to the supported cross beams by means of buttons at the end of steel wires. This arrangement promises to afford a most satisfactory solution of the problem, and at the close of the year the work was put in hand.

It is gratifying to record that in November 1909 a committee of military experts met at Lahore to consider the feasibility of resigning certain buildings in the Fort for conservation as ancient monuments, Mr. R. Froude Tucker, the Archæological Surveyor, Northern Circle, being present. It was decided that the early-Mughal buildings forming the so-called Quadrangle of Jahāngīr should be made over to the Archæological Department as soon as arrangements could be made for the removal of the Medical Store Depôt to Karachi and of the mobilisation reserve stores to Cantonments.

Besides the Mughal palaces of Delhi and Lahore, there were in the Panjāb a number of other Moslem monuments for which special measures of conservation were required. I mention particularly two Paṭhān mosques in the neighbourhood of Delhi—the Khiṛkī Masjid (c. 1387 A.D.) of the reign of Fīrōz Shāh and the Mōṭh-kī-Masjid (A.D. 1488) at Mubārakpur. The well-known Tomb of Safdar Jang near Delhi, one of the last efforts of Mughal architecture, also required attention. Great improvements have been effected to the Shālimār Bāgh near Lahore, "the most pleasing of which is the opening up of the vistas down the long side channels which once ran parallel to the central waterway. The plots in the lower garden have been cleared of undergrowth and useless trees, while a few new ones have been introduced. More flowers have been planted round the central tank and it has consequently gained much in brightness of colours."

"A noticeable feature of the year under review," Mr. Tucker wrote, "is the number of lamps which have been provided to monuments or are on order. Last year, as noted in my report, a silver and bronze lamp was suspended over the tomb of Mumtāz Mahall in the Tāj; another lamp has recently arrived and this will be hung in the Tāj gateway. A short time ago a brass hanging lamp was presented by the Local Government to the Bādshāhī Masjid at Lahore; a somewhat similar one is now on order for the mosque of Wazīr Khān in the same city, and also a standard lamp for its courtyard. The neighbouring tomb of the Emperor Jahāngīr is soon to be provided with much needed light, from a bronzed hanging lamp; while hand lamps for illuminating the inlaid work of the sarcophagus will probably be shortly added. Similarly hand lamps for Salīm Chishtī's tomb at Fatehpūr-Sīkrī will be designed, and reference has already been made to the lamp newly hung in the prayer chamber

of the mosque. The majority of these lamps are sadly needed and replace dirty chirāghs or ordinary hurricane lamps." With the exception of the first two, all these lamps were made from designs supplied by Mr. Tucker.

As regards Buddhist and Hindu monuments in the Northern Circle, adequate measures were taken to preserve the ruined monasteries and other buildings of the Jētavana excavated by Mr. Marshall on the site of Sahēṭh in the Gonda district during the previous year. Similarly at Sārnāth near Benares the so-called Jagat Singh's *Stūpa* and the surrounding minor *stūpas* were preserved. It should also be recorded that a sum of R1,106 was spent on conserving the ancient brick temple at Bhītargāon, Cawnpore district, a full account of which was given in last year's Annual. Smaller sums were devoted to the upkeep of the temples of Gōvind Dēō, Jugal Kishōr and Rādhā Ballabh at Brindāban near Mathurā (*vulgo* Muttra) which are well-known as examples of the mixed Hindu-Mughal style of about 1600 A.D.

In the Western Circle the work of conservation has been very considerable, including not less than sixty-six items in the Bombay Presidency alone. The list published by Mr. Cousens in his Progress Report[1] comprises Buddhist, Brahmanical, Moslem and Christian monuments. Extensive repairs were carried out on the well-known Brahmanical cave temples of Elephanta. The Buddhist caves at Nāsik also received due attention, and likewise the Brahmanical temples at Gadag. Among Moslem monuments those at Bījāpur and Aḥmadābād rank prominently.

In the former place I must mention, first of all, the Ibrāhīm Rauza or Tomb of Ibrāhīm II 'Ādil Shāh who died in A.D. 1626. The ceiling of the mezzanine gallery is made of flat stone slabs which are rebated, tongued and grooved to keep them in position. It was found that a movement was taking place, which might endanger the ceiling. It was, therefore, proposed to remove part of the stone slabs and to replace them by reinforced concrete. Fortunately, a large portion of the original ceiling could be preserved.

The Jal Mandir situated immediately in front of the Sāt Manjlī is an elegant little pavilion, the original purpose of which is unknown. It was probably a water pavilion, standing in the middle of a reservoir which has since been filled up. The repairs carried out consisted in renewing the missing slabbing over the row of brackets belonging to the upper cornice. A few cross brackets, struts and a finial were also replaced. In the lower cornice, also, some of the missing brackets had to be renewed. The parapet was replastered. The square tank in which the pavilion stands has also been repaired and surrounded with an ornamental iron chain railing for future protection.

The Āṣār Mahall or Relic Shrine of Bījāpur is a two-storied structure of no architectural beauty, but on account of its religious associations and curious wall-paintings, its preservation seemed desirable. The ceilings of teak-wood were found to be partly decayed, especially at the ends of the beams where they were embedded in the masonry. Masonry buttresses have been built to support the beams of the ground floor, whilst in the upper storey the ceiling will be propped by means of teak-wood

[1] *Progress Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March, 1910*, pp. 12 ff.

posts placed under the ends of each beam. The old terracing on the roof and the ceiling planks have been removed and in their place a brick-on-edge roof with teak joists has been substituted.

Among the buildings in the Aḥmadābād district, the first to claim mention is the mosque of Imādu-l-Mulk or Malik Iḥsānu-l-Mulk at Iḥsānpūr, on which some measures of conservation were carried out. The mosque and tomb of Sayyid 'Usmān at 'Usmānpur were also repaired. At Sarkhēj, the south wall of the Harem building had to be dismantled and rebuilt, the ornamental bay window being restored to its original position. The Palace at the same place also required attention, the greater portion of the rear wall of the west wing having collapsed. The stone work in front of the roof with eaves, cornice and parapet had almost fallen away. The concrete of the terraced roof had become exposed and its edges had been broken away by exposure.

The Jāmi' Masjid at Broach in the district of the same name was also repaired. It is a very large structure built of materials taken from older Brahmanical and Jain temples. For a long time it had been occupied by Musalmān *faqīrs* and was consequently in a neglected and dirty condition, the ceilings having become blackened by the smoke of their fire-places. The mosque has now been cleaned and several repairs have been carried out so as to insure its structural stability.

The Jāmi' Masjid at Champaner in the Panch Mahals district was likewise repaired. The repairs consisted in the mending of the shattered top of the southern *minār*, the removal of unsightly sheet zinc water shoots from the roof and the substitution in their place of cut stone waterspouts. The plaster on the domes was renewed.

Among Brahmanical buildings the temple of the goddess Sarasvatī at Gadag in the Dharwar district deserves special mention. The ceiling of the *maṇḍapa* was open in the centre owing to some of the slabs having fallen. This gap has been filled. The overhanging cornice slabs were restored all round the hall outside, wherever they were missing. All displaced carved slabs above the cornice, especially on the east side of the *maṇḍapa*, were reset, and where these stones were missing, well-dressed but plain cut stones were inserted.

It is gratifying to note that in the Hyderabad State special attention is being paid to the preservation of ancient buildings. The Nizām's Government has shown its enlightened interest in the matter by extending its care both to Moslem and pre-Moslem monuments. At the instance of Lord Minto the preservation of the Tower of Victory at Daulatābād has been undertaken at an estimated cost of R13,919. At Aurangābād that of the so-called Bībī kā Maqbarah (*i.e.*, the Mausoleum of Dilras Bānū Bēgam, the wife of Aurangzēb) has likewise been taken in hand, the cost being estimated at R5,000. A similar amount is proposed to be spent on the Mosque of Gulburgah. For repairs to the well-known cave temples of Ellōra a sum of R6,329 was sanctioned and the work is reported to be in progress. For the not less famous caves at Ajaṇṭa an estimate of R19,637 has been prepared. Whereas the Nizām's Government is thus displaying a singular activity and liberality in the preservation of national monuments, the States of Central India and Rajputana have shown a remarkable apathy and indifference in this matter. No works of any importance were carried out with the only exception of that of preserving the temples at Khajuraho

in the Chattarpur State of Bundēlkhaṇḍ which is making constant progress under the able superintendence of Mr. R. A. Manly. No less than ten temples were repaired at a cost of R19,056, supplied by the Government of India.

In the Southern Circle attention centres in the important group of partly ruined buildings at Hampi, the ancient Vijayanagar, which, though not among the oldest monuments of the Deccan, possess such unique interest for the history of Southern India during the 14th and 15th centuries. The buildings repaired were the Queen's Bath with the adjoining aqueduct, the so-called Throne, the underground temple (built over a spring), one of the small Jain temples above Hampi village and the Achyutarāya-svāmi Temple. Altogether a sum of nearly R8,000 was spent on the Vijayanagar buildings. The site is one requiring constant and careful attention. Other important works carried out in the Southern Circle were the preservation of the rock fort at Gooty in the Anantapur district and repairs to the Gandikota temple in the Cuddapah district. Measures were also taken to preserve the ancient fort wall of Georgetown at Madras. For a full account of these and other archæological works I may refer to Mr. Rea's Progress Report for the year under review.

In the Eastern Circle the works of conservation carried out in 1909-10 number over a hundred, the great majority relating to buildings in Western Bengal. The clearing of sand from the compound of the Black Pagoda at Konārak in Orissa was continued as well as the planting of casuarina trees to prevent the sand from drifting. The greater part of this important work has now been accomplished, but much still remains to be done.

In a previous Annual Report the late Dr. Bloch gave a description of the curious structure, named Maṇiyār Maṭh, which was discovered by him at Rājgir, the ancient Rājagṛiha. The main feature of interest is its decoration of stucco figures of Brahmanical deities and Nāgas apparently belonging to the Gupta epoch.[1] It has now been found necessary to protect this ruined shrine by means of a wrought iron railing and iron roof which will serve the purely utilitarian purpose of sheltering it against the weather.

In 1907-08 Pandit Daya Ram Sahni carried out some excavations round the Aśōka pillars of Rāmpūrvā in the Champāran district and discovered two capitals, one crowned with a lion *sejant* and the other with a bull.[2] These two valuable sculptures, which have evidently belonged to the shafts, have now been removed to Calcutta, where they will form an important addition to the Mauryan section of the Indian Museum. An endeavour to remove the shafts to a higher position unfortunately failed owing to their excessive weight.

Among Muhammadan monuments I may mention the mausoleum of S͟hāh Daulat or Mak͟hdūm Daulat at Manēr in the Patna district. S͟hāh Daulat died at this place in A.D. 1608, and the construction of his mausoleum was completed in A.D. 1616. "The building," according to Mr. Longhurst's description, "stands on a lofty platform which originally had a high *minār* or tower at each corner of the high retaining walls

[1] *A. S. R.* for 1905-06, pp. 103 ff; plates XXXIX and XL. Dr. Bloch's identification of one of the stucco figures with the Asura king Bāṇa seems doubtful. I take it to represent Vishṇu.

[2] Cf. *A. S. R.* for 1907-08, pp. 181 ff; plates XLVI and XLVII. The bell-shaped capital of the lion pillar had been previously noticed by Mr. Carlleyle. *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 51 ff; plate VII.

of the compound. The mausoleum enshrining the tomb occupies the centre of the compound. It is a well built sandstone structure, of good proportion, and profusely decorated with carving of considerable beauty and finish. It stands on a raised platform with an ornamental verandah running all round; the ceiling of this verandah is particularly beautiful owing to its profuse ornamentation. The interior is lit by means of well-carved perforated stone windows which produce a delightfully cool and peaceful atmosphere within." In the year under review the Dargāh itself has been repaired, as well as the tank to the south, at a cost of R6,882.

In Lower Assam the temple of Hayagrīva at Hajo, Kāmrūp district, was repaired and its vestibule rebuilt at a cost of R4,508. It is stated that the work was not yet completed by the end of the year, owing to the materials having not arrived in time.

In the year 1907-08 certain proposals were made by Mr. Longhurst for the preservation of the Mosque at Kusumbha in the Rājshāhī district of Eastern Bengal. The building is described [1] as a well-built mosque, all the lower part of which up to the springing of the arches is constructed of stone. The arches and the six domes are built of brick, but of the latter four have collapsed. The three prayer-niches or *miḥrābs* in the western wall are beautifully carved and in perfect condition. The repairs to the mosque were completed in March 1910.

The most important work in the Central Provinces was that relating to the Jāmiʿ Masjid at Burhānpur. "The Jāmiʿ Masjid," General Cunningham wrote,[2] "is an unusually plain building, its exterior ornament being confined to a floriated battlement which runs all round the walls, while the only ornament of the interior is lavished on the pilasters of the niches in the back wall. These are all highly carved; and their contrast with the plain square pillars and the bare walls is so great, that I strongly suspect the intended ornamentation was suddenly stopped by Akbar's conquest of Khāndes, which took place only eleven years after the date of the inscription. The building is generally in very good condition. Some repairs are said to have been made by Akbar, as well as by Aurangzeb; but if any work was done by Akbar, it must have been the *completion*, and not the *repair* of the building. It is considerably larger than the Bībī Masjid [at Burhānpur], being 148 feet long by 49 feet broad inside, and 157 feet by 54 feet outside. The roof is vaulted throughout, with pendents at all the points of intersection of the vaults. There is no lofty arch, and no great colour to attract the eye, but the long line of battlement pierced by fifteen pointed arches and flanked by two lofty *minārs*, 120 feet in height, has certainly a very pleasing as well as a very striking effect. The front view recalls the Mōtī Masjid at Agra, and the pleasing effect of both is no doubt due to the same cause, the harmonious symmetry of their proportions."

It is a curious circumstance that the founding of this mosque by the second ʿĀdil Shāh, the son of Mubārak Shāh, in A.D. 1590, is recorded both in Arabic and in Sanskrit on two stone tablets fixed into the back-wall. "This is perhaps the only case known to us," Dr. Bloch wrote,[3] "where Sanskrit was used to record the erection

[1] *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle, for 1907-08*, pp. 31 ff.

[2] *A. S. R.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 117 ff, plate XVIII.

[3] *Annual Report, Eastern Circle*, for 1907-08, pp. 21 ff.

of a Muhammadan place of worship, and it is difficult to understand 'Ādil Shāh's motive in doing so. It was, however, very likely more than one of those occasional whims, which oriental potentates always have been extremely fond of. For we should remember that the inscription dates from a time when the Imperial Court at Agra under Akbar set an example of overlooking the differences that existed between Hindu temples and Muhammadan mosques, both of which were regarded as suitable places for the worship of the Divine Being."

In January 1907, Mr. Marshall made certain proposals mainly for the improvement of the surroundings of the Jāmi' Masjid, the building itself being in a satisfactory state of conservation. These measures have now been carried out at a cost of R2,455. The compound has been cleared and the vegetation removed. The *ḥujras* in the south-east corner of the courtyard have been made safe and two new *ḥammām-khānas* have been constructed to replace the two hideous looking bathrooms which disfigured the courtyard.

Minor measures were taken for the preservation of several other historical monuments at Burhānpur, namely, the Bībī Masjid and the Tombs of Shāh Nawāz Khān, Shāh Shūjā' and 'Ādil Khān, at a total outlay of R2,076. All these works were completed by the end of the financial year.

At the same time Mr. Marshall also reported on the two ruined temples[1] at the village of Janjgir, 26 miles east of Bilāspur. The repairs recommended by him have now been carried out. They consisted mainly in filling gaps in the masonry with cement, removing vegetation and similar necessary measures of preservation. The larger shrine was also provided with a door of teak wood so as to prevent its being occupied by vagabonds.

Another temple which was repaired is that of Mahādēva, the only surviving one of a group of temples, found at the village of Pāli, about 12 miles north-east of Ratanpur, in the Bilāspur district. This edifice was visited and described[2] by Mr. Longhurst in December 1907, who assigns it to the beginning of the eleventh century. The repairs recommended by him had been nearly completed by the end of the year under review.

Mr. Longhurst also reported[3] on a small ruined temple at the village of Deo-Baloda about 12 miles west of Raipur, Drug district. The work of repairs was completed in December 1909. Parts of the walls which had fallen have been rebuilt, and the broken sill stones either supported or replaced. Further repairs were carried out and the site was cleared. "This little temple appears now to be in very good condition and will not need any further constructional repairs for some years. The walls of the tower or sanctum are sound and strong and a proper watertight terraced roof has been provided in place of the fallen spire. This roof stands about one foot higher than the flat roof of the *maṇḍapa*. Plain square columns have been inserted in three places under stone beams, which were badly cracked and needed support. They do not add to the beauty of the *maṇḍapa*, but serve their purpose well and do not pretend to be more than they are—supports."

[1] *Annual Report, Eastern Circle*, for 1907-8, pp. 40 ff.
[2] *Ibidem*, pp. 37 ff.
[3] *Ibidem*, p. 35.

The two principal archæological works in Burma related to the Nanpaya at Pagān and the spire of the Mandalay Palace.[1]

As museums are such an all-important agency in the preservation of movable antiquities, it will not be out of place here to mention the main facts of the year with regard to those institutions. It should, however, be understood that the antiquarian collections existing in India are not, as a rule, placed under the direct control of the Archæological Department, which, therefore, cannot be held responsible for any defects in their arrangement or custody. In most cases the Superintendents act in an honorary capacity as advisers to the Curators of the provincial museums, and as such they are in a position indirectly to exercise their influence.

The most important fact to be noted is the passing of the Indian Museum Act on the 18th March 1910, in section 2 (1)*a* of which it was laid down that the Director-General of Archæology was to be *ex-officio* one of the Trustees of the Museum. The need of a closer connection between the head of the Archæological Department and the most important collection of antiquities in India had long been felt. But at present it is impossible to say how far the measure now adopted will contribute to place the archæological section of the Indian Museum on an equal footing with the other sections. This will entirely depend on the special staff and funds placed at the disposal of the Director-General. As a preliminary measure the Government have sanctioned the appointment of an Indian Assistant Superintendent, on the understanding that the Director-General should be at liberty to depute either him or any other member of his staff for work in the Museum.

In this connection I wish to record that Mr. Marshall arranged for the purchase of the important collection of gems brought together by the late Colonel G. G. Pearse. It was acquired by the Government of India at a cost of R3,900 and has been deposited in the Calcutta Museum. Besides, a large number of ancient coins were added to the coin cabinet, including Mug̱hal coins which were bought for R1,098 from the Bahāwalpur State.

In the United Provinces the year has been one of singular progress with regard to museum administration. It has been decided by the Local Government that the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, which was hitherto housed in two of the Oudh palace buildings ill-suited for the purposes of a museum, will be transferred to a more spacious and suitable edifice in the Qaiṣar Bāg̱h till recently occupied by the Canning College and purchased by the Local Government for the sum of R2,10,000. The Archæological Department has been consulted on the manner in which the different sections could be best distributed over this building. The new museum at Sārnāth designed by Mr. James Ransome, late Consulting Architect to the Government of India, is now completed except for some decorative details. As soon as the inner fittings are finished, it will be possible to remove the sculptures and inscriptions into the new building. Some repairs have been carried out to the Municipal Museum at Muttra (Mathurā), so as to provide more space and light. The cost of these repairs had been estimated at R4,000, to which the Government of India contributed a grant of R2,000 on the understanding that an equal sum should be found locally. But after the sum of R2,000 granted by the Government of India had been spent, the

[1] *Report of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma, for the year ending 31st March 1910*, pp. 12 ff.

Municipal Board of Muttra declared themselves unable to provide the remainder, so that a considerable part of the proposed work had to be abandoned. The Mathurā Museum collection was again increased with a number of sculptures and inscriptions acquired locally by Pandit Radha Krishna. These acquisitions will be described in a special article included in the present volume.

The Delhi Museum of Archæology, under the able superintendence of Mr. Froude Tucker, was enriched with some robes and jewellery once in the possession of Zīnat Maḥall Bēgam, the favourite wife of Bahādur Shāh, the last king of Delhi. Among other objects acquired by Mr. Marshall I may mention some ancient Mughal paintings and an autograph of General Nicholson. The collection of coins relating to the different dynasties which once ruled at Delhi was completed with the assistance of Mr. R. B. Whitehead, I.C.S., who is preparing a catalogue of the collection.

J. PH. VOGEL.

ANCIENT BRICK TEMPLES IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

AT Śirpūr,[1] a little village situated on the right bank of the Mahānadi river, about 37 miles east by north of Rāipūr town in the Rāipūr district of the Central Provinces, there are the remains of an ancient city of considerable size, now mostly hidden by dense forest. These remains consist chiefly of mounds of decayed brick, often containing stone pillars and sculptures of a very early period. The only building now standing that may be said to form anything like a complete structure, retaining in their original places the stone sculptures, pillars and carved brick surfaces of former days, is the brick temple of Lakshmaṇa. The shrine is still standing with the greater part of its brick tower, the upper portion being much decayed, and covered with rank vegetation when I visited Śirpūr in December 1907, with a view to submitting a report to Government for its future preservation.

The temple is built entirely of large-sized red bricks, with the exception of the stone door-frame of the sanctum entrance and the pillars and pilasters which once supported the flat roof of the *maṇḍapa* or anteroom. It stands on a large, well-built stone platform with cell foundations (Plate I). This platform is 77 feet long by 39 feet broad and 7 feet in height, and is still in a good state of preservation. Two small flights of steps originally led up to the platform, one on either side of the temple entrance at the extreme ends of the front or east side of the platform. The sanctum, which is built entirely of brick, with the exception of the door-frame, is 22½ feet square outside, containing a room 9 feet 9 inches square inside, for the reception of the idol and faces the east. The stone door-frame is richly sculptured and of unusual size (Plate II). Carved on the lintel is a large figure of Vishṇu reclining on the folds of the serpent Śēsha, the whole scene representing the birth of Brahmā. Down the two outer sides of the door-jambs are the Avatāras and other scenes, including one representing a horse apparently attacking a man, while the inner sides are adorned with pairs of human figures, male and female. The inner mouldings of the door-

[1] The ancient name of Śirpūr appears to have been Śrīpura. From this place the Rājim copper-plate charter was issued by Tivaradēva, the ruler of Kōśala. It appears from a Śirpūr inscription that Tivaradēva was the adopted son of Nannadēva, who was the son of Indrabala. The Paṇḍits' derivation of Śirpūr from Savarīpura is fantastical. Cf. *A. S. R.*, Vol. VII, pp. 168 ff. and Vol. XVII, pp. 23 ff, plates XIV-XX [Ed.]

frame are particularly richly sculptured with conventional ornament. The general effect of this doorway is very pleasing, the sculptures being executed in a light buff-coloured stone. From these sculptures we may infer that the temple was originally dedicated to Vishṇu. There appears to be little doubt that the large well-carved image of Vishṇu found by Mr. Beglar lying outside the temple must have originally stood in the sanctum.[1] At present the sanctum which is quite plain inside, is empty, with the exception of a small stone image of a Nāga-rāja, seated in a natural pose, upon the folds of a huge snake, whose five-hooded crest rises from behind and canopies his head.

There is no second or false roof over the sanctum such as we find in the ancient brick temple at Bhītargāon in the Cawnpore District,[2] and in most old stone temples. The sanctum is roofed in the usual way by projecting courses of bricks rising up until they meet, and not by a curvilinear dome as we find at Bhītargāon. The porch was provided with a kind of dormer window, as may be seen in stone examples elsewhere. Nothing now remains to show the style of this window, except a large triangular opening immediately above the sanctum doorway. Its construction is similar to that of the roof over the sanctum, being formed of overlapping courses of bricks, like the large opening that existed in the great brick temple at Bōdh Gayā before repairs. It is of the same breadth as the doorway, 3 feet 3 inches, with a height of 6 feet 3 inches in twenty-five courses of bricks. (Fig. 1.)

Very little exists of the *maṇḍapa*; only traces of the side walls, which were of brick, and the stone bases of the pillars that once supported the roof remain. It may be surmised that the roof consisted of flat slabs of stone resting on architraves, themselves supported by stone pillars and pilasters. It is quite possible that the *maṇḍapa* was added to the porch at a later date. I am inclined to think that such was the case, for in the earliest examples of brick temples that have come down to us, such as the ancient brick temple at Bhītargāon, which has with probability been assigned to the fourth or fifth century, the *maṇḍapa* is unknown; only a small porch projects in front of the sanctum entrance of such examples.

The brickwork of this temple is particularly good and most ornamental, the decoration being carved on the brickwork after the walls were built; the carved lines of the ornament are thus much sharper and more clearly defined than would be possible had the bricks been merely moulded. Little heed has been paid to the joints between the bricks in applying the ornament, which has been carried out as though executed in stone. The average size of the bricks used in the construction is 17 inches long by 9 inches wide, and rather less than 3 inches thick. They are just a trifle smaller than the bricks used in the construction of the Bhītargāon temple which measure 17″ × 10″ × 3″ on an average, but I found plenty of bricks there that measured 17½″ × 10½″ × 3″. The surfaces and joints between the brickwork of the Śirpūr temple have been rubbed down to a beautifully smooth surface and covered with a thin layer of excellent white plaster (Plate III). Very little of the plaster remains, but there is sufficient to show that the whole structure was once covered with it. Perhaps this plaster was added at some subsequent date, for it is a little difficult to

[1] See Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XVII, plate XVII, for a photograph of this statue.
[2] Cf. *A. S. R.* for 1908-09, pp. 8 ff.

BRICK TEMPLES IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

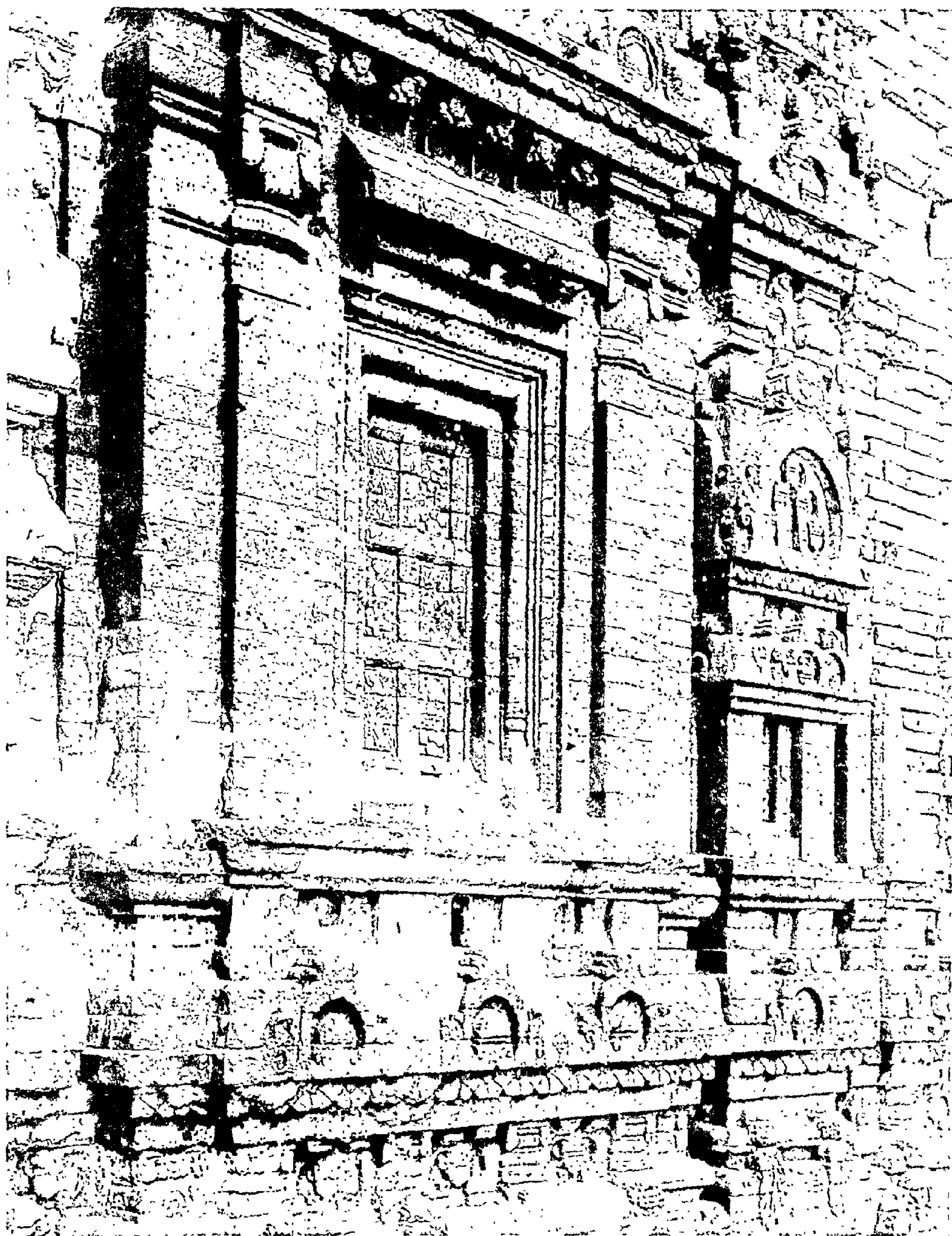


TEMPLE OF LAKSHMANA AT SIRPUR.
SIDE VIEW FROM NORTH-WEST, BEFORE REPAIRS.



TEMPLE OF LAKSHMANA AT SIRPUR.
DOORWAY OF SANCTUM.

BRICK TEMPLES IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.



TEMPLE OF LAKSHMANA AT SIRPUR.
DETAIL OF BRICK ORNAMENT.



Fig. 1.

understand why the original builders of this temple should have taken such pains to give the whole surface of the structure such a beautiful finish, if only to cover it over and hide it from view with plaster. It is, however, possible that the thin coating of plaster may have been applied as a ground-work for colour, in the same manner as we find it employed on some of the earliest Buddhist monuments. It is a remarkable fact that all the ancient brick temples in the Central Provinces show signs of having been covered over with a thin layer of plaster at a very early period. I do not remember having seen any traces of old plaster on the brick temple at Bhītargāon, but I did notice that portions of the brickwork in sheltered angles showed signs of having been carefully rubbed down to a smooth surface in exactly the same manner as at Śirpūr.

Plates I and III show far better than a written description could explain the nature of the carved brick surfaces of the sanctum tower. The chief points of interest are the vase-shaped moulding of the plinth, the numerous rows of *chaitya* roof and gable moulding and the *chaitya* arched niches. The large oblong false

windows in the back and side walls of the temple are also interesting. The delicate lotus leaf mouldings and slender pilasters, with plain pot-and-foliage capitals, of these window frames are similar in design to the mouldings of many of the shrine door-frames at Ajaṇṭā and Ellora. The carved panels between the mullions indicate unmistakably a wooden origin, for these panels are intended to represent fret-work, similar to that employed in the fan-lights over the doorways and windows of the *chaityas*.

The temple has a double cornice like the one at Bhītargāon, the upper cornice being represented in places as supported by fabulous lions and other animals, an idea which may have been borrowed from the ornamental capitals of the Persepolitan pillars, which were usually adorned with groups of animals in recumbent positions. Above the double cornice we have a plain band ornamented at regular intervals with three rows of little square recesses, reminding one of the square lattice-work of the Buddhist windows. Above this are more rows of the *chaitya* roof and gable moulding and *chaitya* arched niches until the top of the roof is reached. The sides of the temple above the double cornice taper towards the top, but not sufficiently to form anything like a cone. In all probability the top of the roof was flat, surmounted by a rather high brick *āmalaka*, similar in style to the one which crowns the tower of the big brick temple at Bōdh Gayā. The date of the temple is not known, but on purely architectural grounds it would appear to date from the 7th or 8th century A.D.[1]

The only other temple at Śirpūr now standing is that of Gandhēśvara, situated on the very brink of the river. This is a comparatively modern structure built of old material taken from the numerous brick temples which once existed here. A number of sculptures are collected within the enclosure, including the inscribed image of Buddha shown in figure 2; but this shrine is chiefly interesting for its inscriptions which have been dealt with at some length by General Cunningham.[2]



Fig. 2.

There appears to be little doubt that the famous temples of Rājim, a town not many miles from Śirpūr on the same river, have been built mainly with ornamental stone material taken from the ruins at the latter place. Their beautiful pillars and sculptures are worthy of a special illustrated article. Figure 3 shows a very beautiful door-lintel representing

[1] General Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XVII, p. 28, believed the Lakshmaṇa temple to be contemporaneous with the inscriptions found at Śirpūr which he attributes to the last quarter of the 5th century. Dr. Fleet, however, refers them on palæographical grounds to the eighth or ninth century of the Christian era [Ed.]

[2] *A. S. R.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 25 ff; plates XVIII-XX. *Cf.* also Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 293, and Kielhorn *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 179 ff. *Progress Report, Western Circle*, 1903-04, pp. 49 ff. Cunningham also mentions a colossal Buddha head found at the south-west corner of the so-called Chhōṭā Qilaʻ.

a bust of Śiva with the bull Nandi below, flanked by Nāga figures, whose tails knot and intertwine in a bold and very effective piece of sculpture. This lintel originally adorned one of the brick temples at Śirpūr. It was found built into a small modern temple at Dhamtari, a village in the neighbourhood and is now in the Rāipūr Museum. A similar lintel is built into one of the doorways of the modern Gandhēśvara temple at Śirpūr. It is interesting to note that brick temples dedicated to Buddha, Vishṇu and Śiva (all approximately about the same age) appear to have existed here side by side.



Fig. 3.

The ancient site of Śirpūr should well repay a detailed survey, for even now, in spite of the amount of ornamental stone material that has been removed in order to build temples elsewhere, there still exist a large number of beautifully carved pillars and sculptures; and I have no doubt that, if the numerous brick mounds were excavated, many valuable sculptures, and perhaps inscriptions, would come to light. I was able to spend only one day at Śirpūr, when the whole of my time was occupied in taking photographs and preparing conservation notes for the future preservation of the Lakshmaṇa temple. It would be necessary to take tents and go into camp for at least a month in order to carry out a proper examination of this interesting ancient site.

At Kharōḍ,[1] a small village about three miles to the north-west of the town of Seori-Nārāyaṇ on the Mahānadī river in the Bilāspur district of the Central Provinces, there are two very old ruined brick temples apparently of the same age and similar in style to the Lakshmaṇa temple at Śirpūr. The larger of the two, outside the village on the south side, appears to have been practically a copy of that temple, though neither so large nor so elaborately decorated. The general lines and mouldings, together with the plan, are the same. It, too, is a Vaishṇava temple, but is now dedicated to a goddess called Śabarī or Savarī. The carved stone door-frame of the shrine is ornamented with a Nāga design, the long tails of which run up the door jambs and along the lintel. On either side, below, are large, well executed figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā. This temple has been so extensively repaired and altered that it ceases to be of much interest, except for the fact that enough remains to show that originally it was similar in style to the one at Śirpūr.

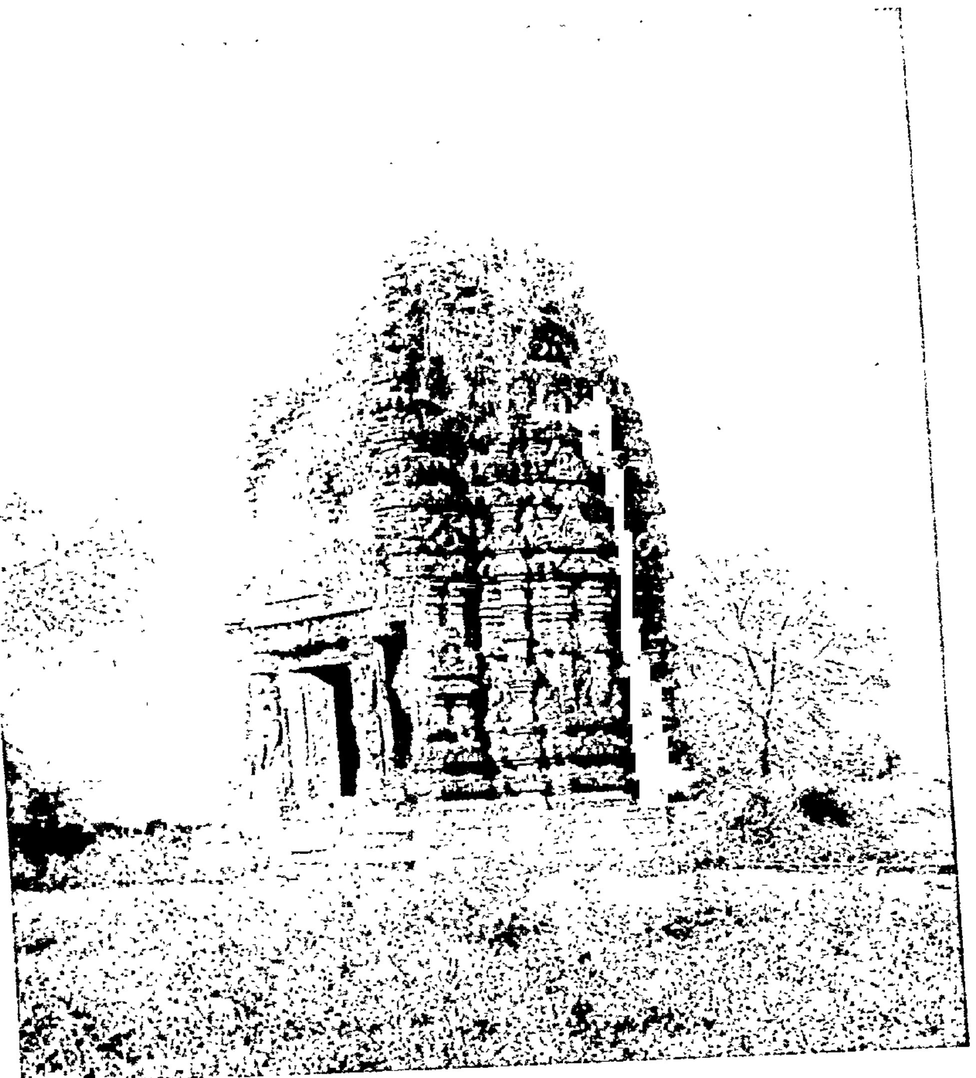
[1] Cf. *A. S. R.*, Vol. II, pp. 201 ff.

To the north of the village there is another small, square brick-temple of the same style and age, partly ruined. The porch has been removed, but it does not appear to have ever had a *maṇḍapa* in front. It is built of large-sized red bricks, while the exterior ornamentation of the sanctum tower and its mouldings are much the same as those employed at Śirpūr (Plate IV). The stone door-frame of the sanctum is a well executed piece of sculpture. The inner frame mouldings and jambs are richly carved in conventional ornament in which *makaras* and lotus medallions so familiar on the posts of the Buddhist railings, are most conspicuous. On each side of the door-frame is a well-carved, life-sized female figure, standing under an umbrella and attended by a diminutive maid. The bases are too decayed to show on what objects these figures originally stood, but in all probability the images represent the river goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā standing on the crocodile and the tortoise. The door lintel is ornamented with intertwining Nāga figures, while a little image of Vishṇu, seated upon Garuḍa, occupies the post of honour in the centre. Both the temples at Kharōḍ stand on raised platforms with cell foundations, and both show signs of having once been covered over with a thin layer of white plaster.

Pūjārīpālī[1] is a small village about forty miles west by north of the town of Sambalpūr. Here are the remains of three old brick temples. Only two retain their stone door-frames, and all three are in ruins. They are built of large-sized bricks, and appear to have originally stood on raised platforms with cell foundations. The brickwork is remarkably plain, but of good workmanship. Traces of the *chaitya* arch ornament appear on the back and side walls of the exteriors of the temples, but only in very low relief and badly executed. In the plain, heavy convex mouldings of the plinths and cornices we can trace the form of the *chaitya* roof-like mouldings that we noticed at Śirpūr and Kharōḍ, but here the gable ornament is omitted. The exterior angles of the temples are decorated here and there with the peculiar ribbed ornament invariably found on the *āmalaka,* or top stone which always crowns the sanctum towers of temples built in this style of architecture, whether constructed of brick or stone.

These temples originally had brick porches with stone doorways. Apparently high up over the porch was a small dormer window for lighting the interior of the sanctum. The large triangular opening over the doorway shown in Plate V*a* is similar to the one we noticed at Śirpūr and is constructed in the same manner. If the accumulated brick rubbish on the porch of the temple shown in Plate V*b* were removed, I have no doubt we should find a similar triangular opening there. The architrave and carved stone pillars which once supported the roof of the porch of the temple shown in Plate V*a*, appear to be complete. The large female figures standing under umbrellas are probably intended for Gaṅgā and Yamunā. At the back of these pillars we have the stone door-frame of the sanctum which is free from all ornament. In the other temple shown in Plate V*b*, the carved pillars originally supporting the architrave over the entrance have been removed, leaving only the plain stone door-frame of the sanctum. Both these temples show signs of having once been covered over with a thin layer of plaster.

[1] Cf. *A. S. R.*, Vol. XVII, p. 68, and *Progress Report, Western Circle*, 1903-04, p. 50.



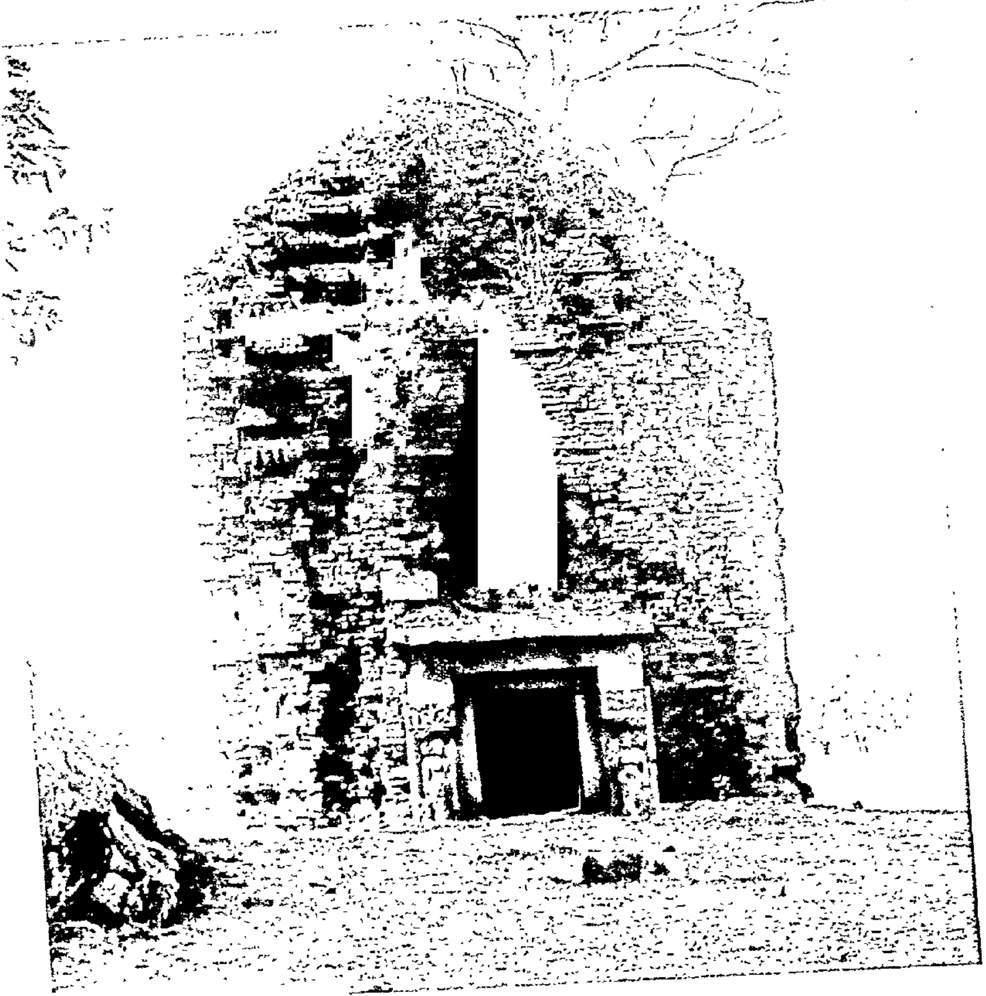
(*a*) GENERAL VIEW.



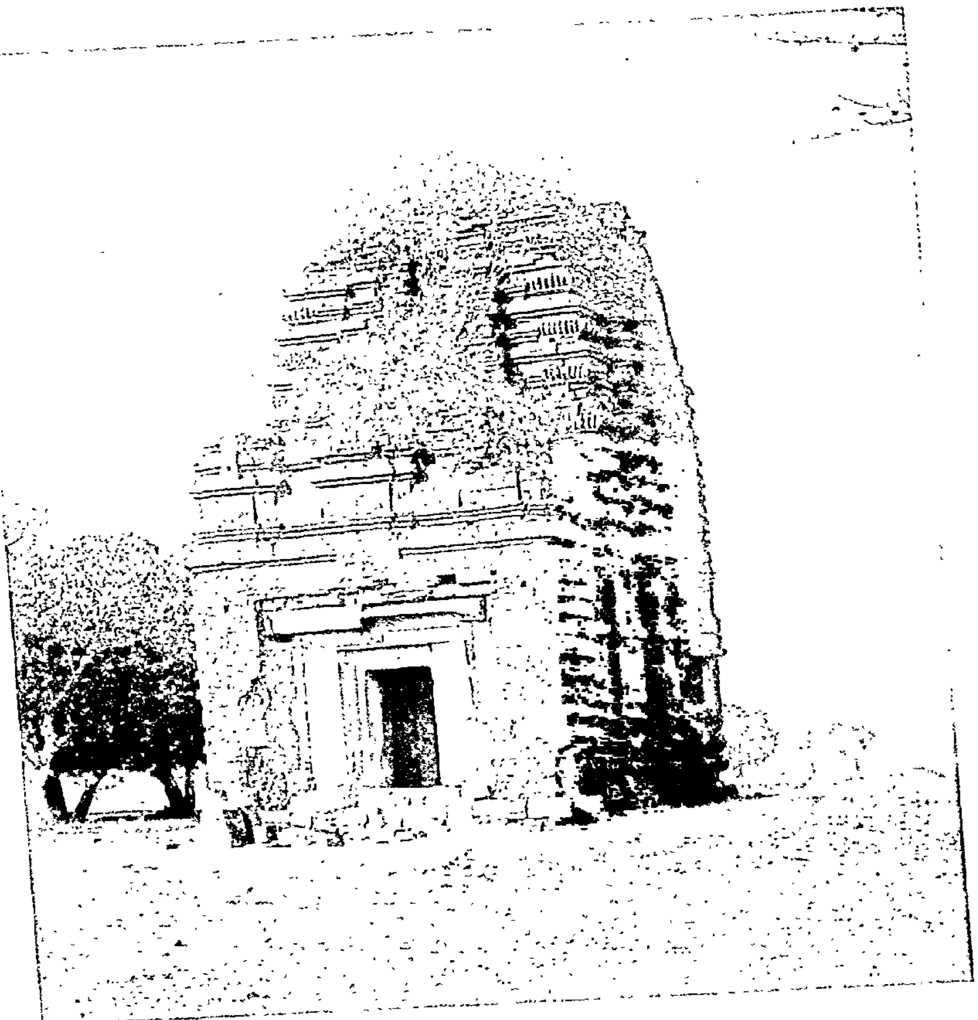
(*b*) DETAIL OF DOORWAY.

TEMPLE AT KHAROD. BEFORE REPAIRS.

BRICK TEMPLES IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.



(*a*) TEMPLE AT PUJARIPALI, BEFORE REPAIRS.



(*b*) TEMPLE AT PUJARIPALI, BEFORE REPAIRS.

Although nothing is known as to their age, they are obviously of a much later date than the temples at Śīrpūr and Kharōḍ, not to speak of the one at Bhītargāon. They are, however, of interest, as so few ancient brick temples have survived in India.

A. H. LONGHURST.

THE TEMPLE OF MAHADĒVA AT BAJAURĀ, KUḶŪ.

IN July 1909 Mr. A. H. Longhurst, while officiating for me in the Northern Circle, proposed some petty repairs to the temple of Mahādēva at Bajaurā,[1] one of the most ancient and finest shrines of the Kuḷū valley. In order to restore this edifice to something approaching its original condition, it would have been necessary, as Mr. Longhurst pointed out, to dismantle the whole structure and rebuild it. But as the temple is still used for daily worship, such a course could not very well be adopted in a mountain-tract inhabited by an uncultured and superstitious population.[2] It is, therefore, hoped that the petty repairs proposed will save the building from collapse, although it must be admitted that the disjointed and shaken appearance of the structure is bound to raise grave apprehension as to its safety. The well cut and carved stone blocks set dry and fastened with iron dowels, are displaced to such an extent that it looks as if the slightest shock of earthquake would bring the whole fabric down. Mr. Longhurst was indeed under the impression that the present precarious state of the temple was due to the great earthquake of 4th April 1905 which wrought such terrible havoc among the ancient monuments of the Biās Valley.[3]

That dreadful catastrophe, however, cannot be held responsible for the state of the Bajaurā temple, as is evident not only from the very accurate description published by Captain A. F. P. Harcourt in 1871,[4] but also from a photograph taken in the early sixties by the late Mr. R. G. Elwes, an Engineer in the Public Works Department. I owe it to the kindness of his daughter, Madame Elwes-Sarton, that

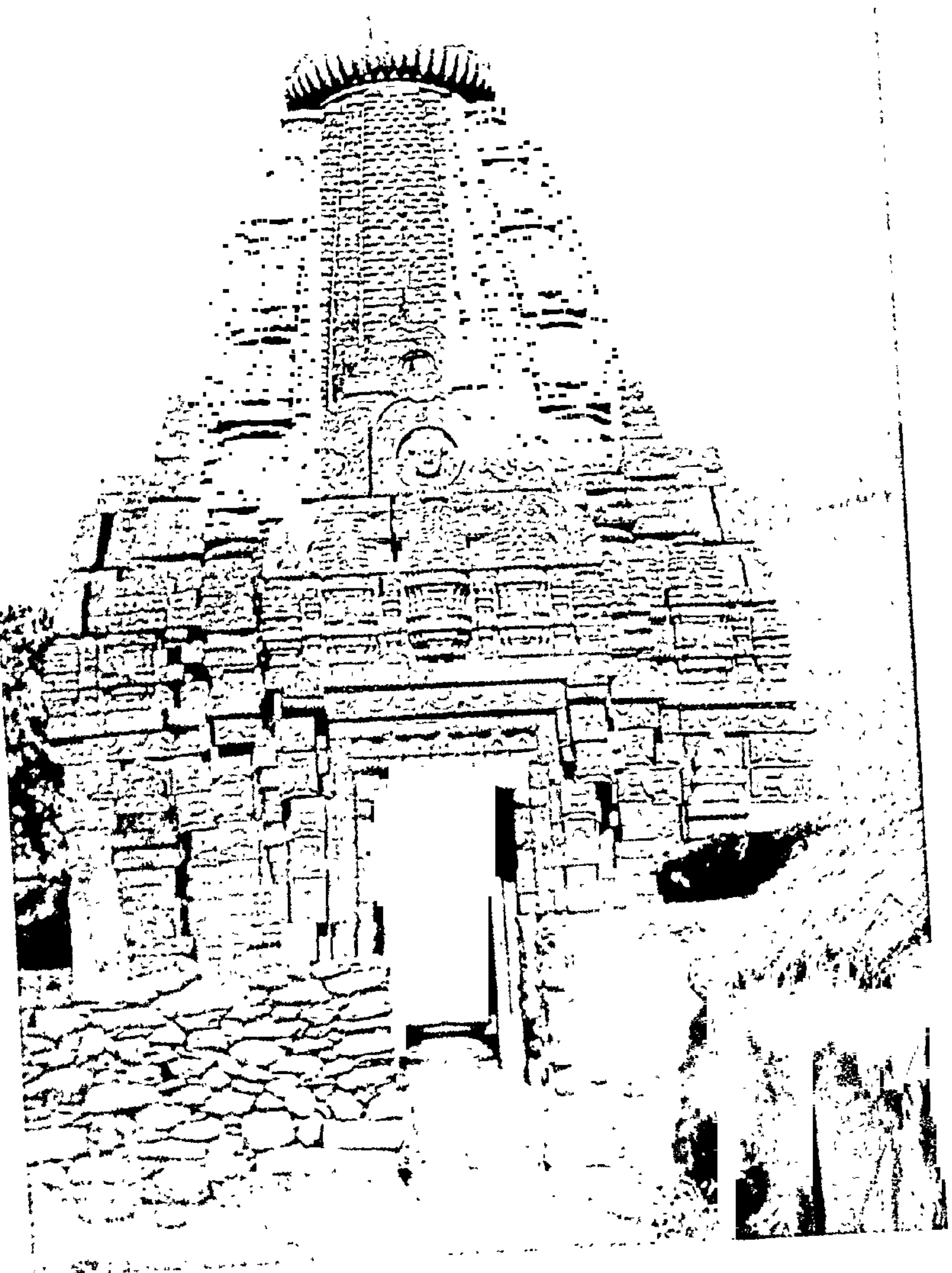
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[1] The temple really belongs to the hamlet of Hāṭ mentioned under the name of Haṭṭa in the copper-plate grant of Bahādur Singh of Kuḷū dated in the year 35 (A.D. 1559). Cf. *A. S. R.* for 1903-4, pp. 26 ff. Plate LXXI.

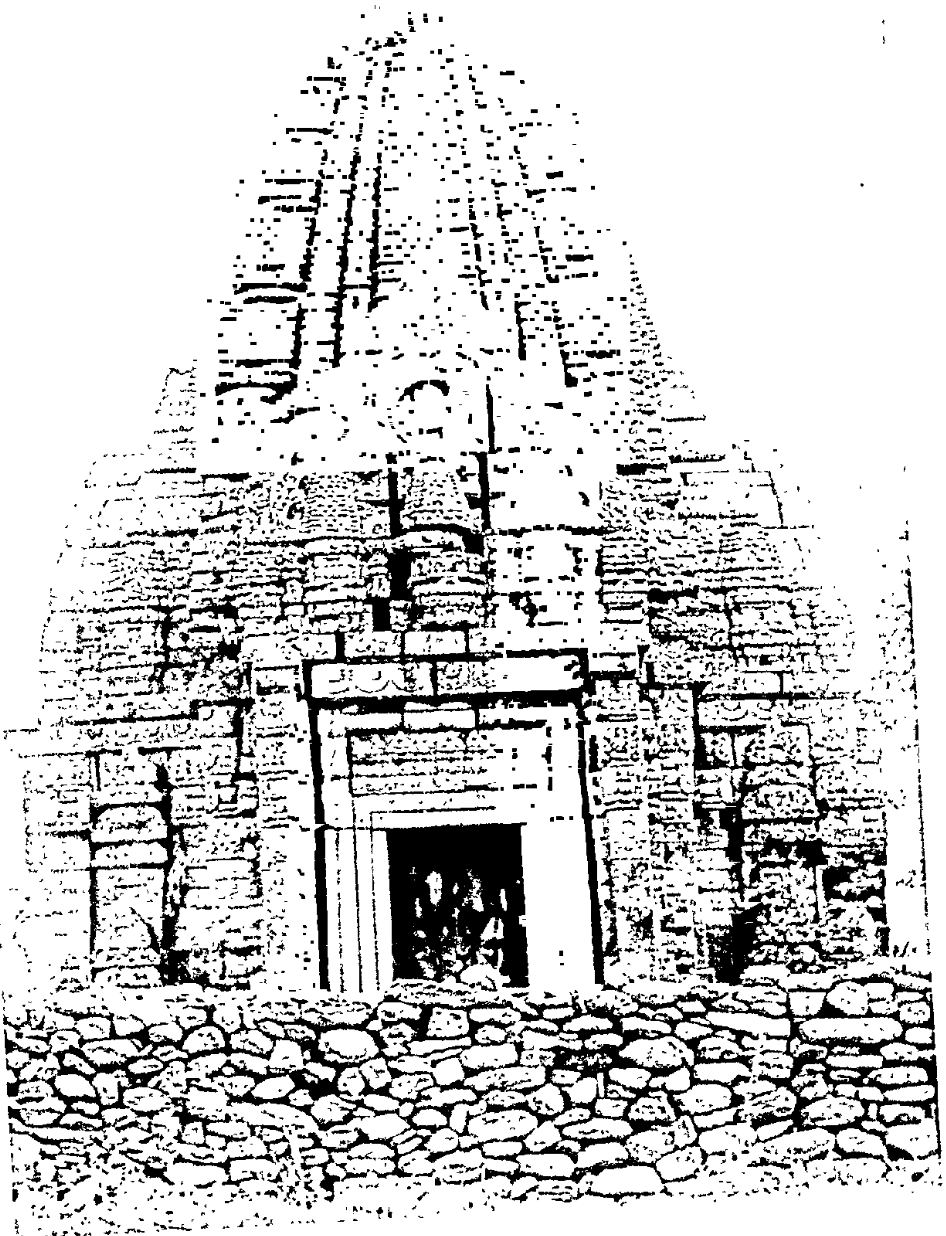
[2] Already Hiuen Tsiang, *Si-yu-ki* (transl. Beal.) Vol. I., p. 177, says :—"The people [of Kiu-lu-to] are coarse and common in appearance, and are much afflicted with goitre and tumours. Their nature is hard and fierce; they greatly regard justice and bravery." A modern proverb says :—*Jāčgā Kuḷū hōžgī ulū.*

[3] *Cf.* my *Ancient Monuments of Kāṅgrā ruined in the earthquake* in *A. S. R.* for 1905-6, pp. 10 ff, Plates I-VII. The Bajaurā temple is mentioned on p. 27.

[4] A. F. P. Harcourt, *The Himalayan districts of Kooloo, Lahoul and Spiti.* London 1871, pp. 317 ff.



(*a*) FRONT VIEW, FROM EAST.



(*b*) SIDE VIEW, FROM NORTH.

I am able to publish here what is probably the earliest photographic reproduction of the Bajaurā temple and a valuable record of its condition, half a century ago. A

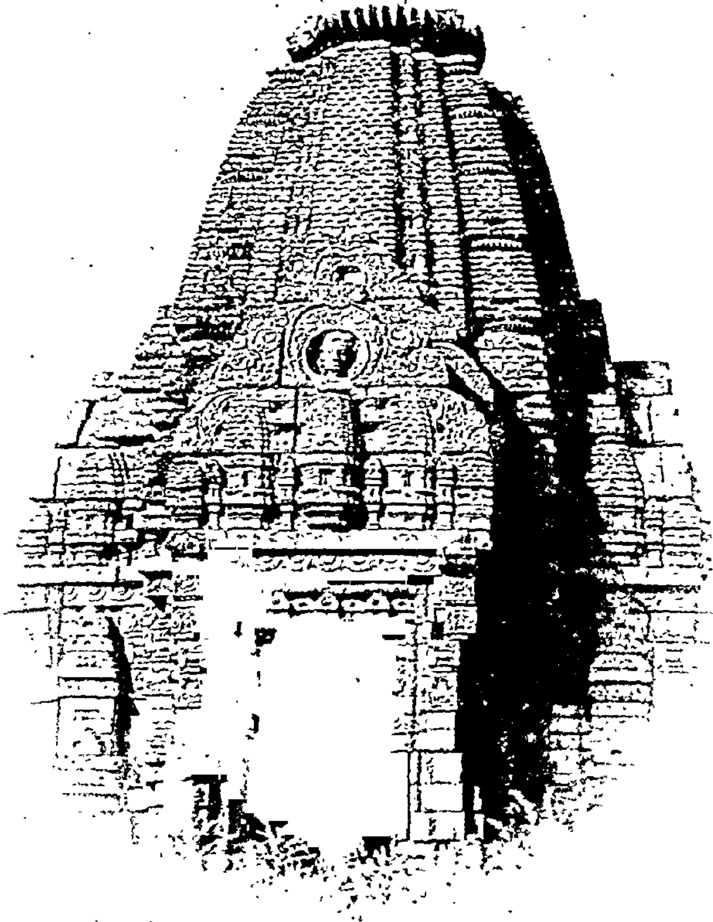


Fig. 1.

comparison of Mr. Elwes' photograph shown in fig. 1 and those taken by Mr. Longhurst in the summer of 1909 (Plate VI) will make it quite clear that fifty years ago the temple was in very much the same shaken condition as it is now, and that the earthquake of April 1905, strange though it may seem, has not, as far as one can see, made matters worse. We may, therefore, reasonably hope that the final ruin of the Bajaurā temple is not as near at hand as its shattered appearance would lead one to fear.

The temple of Bajaurā is of great archæological interest, as temple-towers of this type, built entirely of stone, are as rare in the Hills as they are common in the Plains. Captain Harcourt[1] enumerates only sixteen buildings of this kind in the whole of the

[1] Harcourt. *op. cit.* pp. 195 ff.

Kuḷū valley, and hardly any of them dates farther back than the 17th century when the Rajas of Kuḷū vigorously promoted the worship of Krishṇa and Rāma. They include, moreover, several small and insignificant shrines.

There is indeed every reason to suppose that the so-called *śikhara* temple or stone temple-tower was originally foreign to the Hills. The indigenous hill-temple is built of wood and stone and has either a pent-roof covered with slates or shingles or a pyramidal wooden roof sometimes rising in several tiers. Temples of the latter variety are typical of Himalayan architecture and are best known from Kashmir and Nepal. In the early temples of the former country we find the pyramidal or pagoda roof executed in stone. In Kuḷū the pent-roofed village temple is commonest. Of the pagoda-roofed type there are three examples:—the temple of Hiḍimbā (or Hiṛmā) Dēvī at Ḍhuṅgrī near Manālī, in the upper Biās valley (right bank), that of Tripura sundarī Dēvī at Nagar, the ancient capital, and that of Triyuga-Nārāyaṇa at Dyār on the left bank of the Biās, opposite Bajaurā.[1]

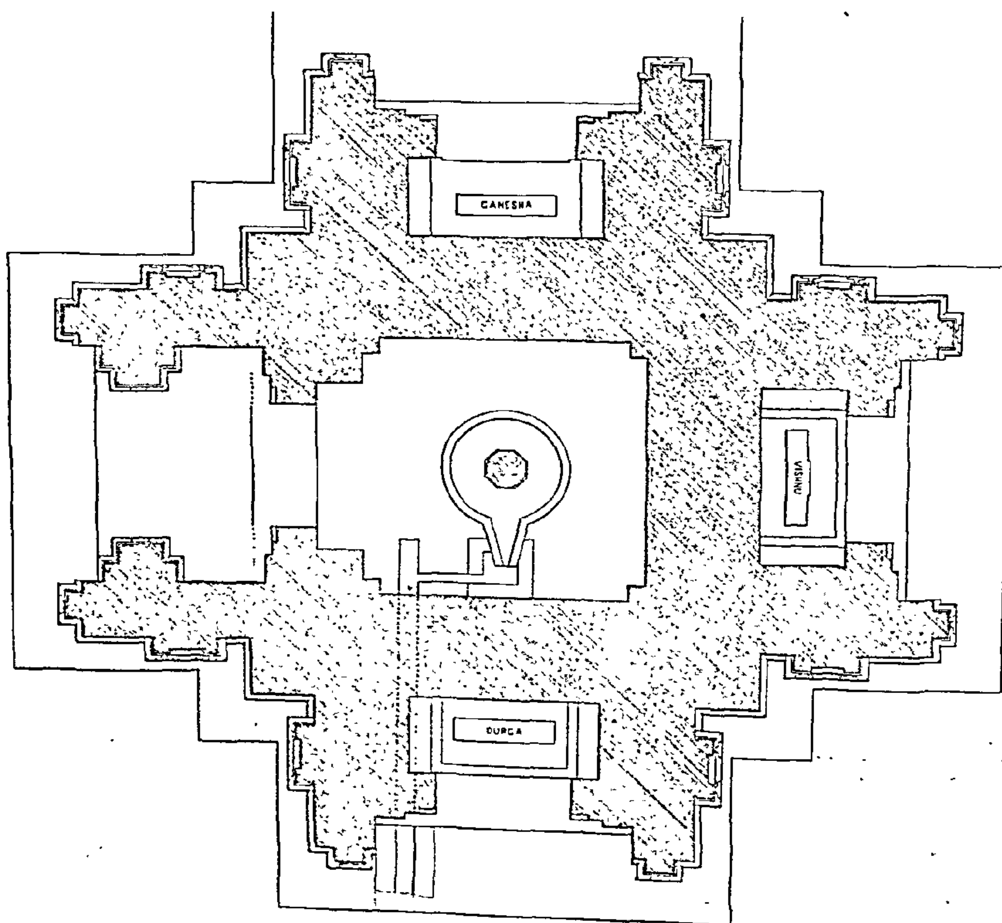


Fig. 2.

To revert to the Bajaurā temple; it is dedicated to Mahādēva under the name of Bashēshar (*i.e.*, Sanskrit *Viśvēśvara* meaning "Lord of the Universe"). The object

[1] *Cf.* my note in *Chamba State Gazetteer* (Punjab States Gazetteer, Vol. XXII-A), 1904. Lahore 1910, pp. 41 ff.

PLATE VII.

TEMPLE OF MAHADEVA AT BAJAURA, KULU.



(*a*) IMAGE OF GANESA.



(*b*) IMAGE OF VISHNU.



(*c*) IMAGE OF DURGA.

of worship is a large stone *liṅga* occupying most of the space in the sanctum which measures only 8′ 6″ by 7′ 2″. This cella is enclosed within heavy walls forming a square of 13′ outwardly, from which project four ornamental porches, that to the east containing the doorway (9′ 6″ by 2′ 10″) and the other three each a large niche or chapel which enshrines a well-carved image-slab. Each porch is surmounted by an elaborately decorated pediment showing three miniature *śikhara* shrines in relief and over the central one a sunk circular medallion containing three faces, the one in the middle being shown full and those at the sides half. This medallion, though a very common device in the temples of the Panjāb Hills, I am unable to explain. It may be either a reproduction of the Trimūrti—Brahmā, Vishṇu and Śiva—or of the last-mentioned deity in his triple form. I have heard it designated as *Bhadramukh.*

The whole outer surface is covered with carving in which the pot-and-foliage motive is often repeated. It will be remembered that this is an ornament used for capitals of pillars and pilasters, but here we find it, as it were, doubled, two blocks carved in this fashion being every time placed one over the other. We notice, besides, a Nāga couple with interlaced snake-tails and two Kinnaras, male and female, in fond embrace, their bushy tails merging into profuse scroll-work. The not less elaborately carved tower or *śikhara* is, as usual, surmounted by an *āmalaka* stone, part of which had fallen down but has now been replaced.

The three large image slabs (height 5′ 4″) which occupy the niches deserve special notice (Plate VII). That on the south side shows the familiar figure of the elephant-headed Gaṇēśa seated on a lotus throne supported by two lions couchant to front. The god is four-armed and holds in his right hands a hatchet and an indistinct object partly broken. In his upper left hand he has what appears to be his second tusk, and his second left clasps a vessel of sweetmeats to which he applies his trunk. He wears a long garland hanging down below his knees and a sacred thread in the shape of a snake. Between the two lions of the *siṁhāsana* we notice a nude miniature figure kneeling and holding in both hands an indistinct object. The figure which is characterised by a large head with protruding eyes and elephant ears reminds one of a similar grotesque figure found in a somewhat analogous position on the Gaṇēśa image of Mēruvarman (c. A.D. 700) at Brahmor the ancient capital of Chambā State.[1] I presume that it represents in both instances one of the Gaṇas or dwarfs, of which Gaṇēśa is the lord and leader. The top of the slab is broken, so that its height has been reduced to 3′ 10″. Its width is 2′ 5″.

The sculpture in the back or west niche is a beautifully carved image of Vishṇu standing to front between two miniature attendant figures. The god is four-armed and holds his usual attributes—the wheel (*chakra*) and lotus-flower (*padma*) in his two right hands, and the mace (*gadā*) and conch-shell (*śaṅkha*) in the two left. He is distinguished by a quadruple circular halo, from which a pair of flying, garland-carrying figurines project, and wears a three-pointed diadem or tiara and long curly locks streaming down on both shoulders. His body is adorned with the usual ornaments, a sacred thread and a long garland slung round his shoulders

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[1] *Cf.* my *Antiquities of Chambā State.* Part I; p. 139, Plate VIII*a*.

and hanging down below his knees. The attending figures, male and female, each hold a fly-whisk (Skt. *chāmara*).

The third image which is placed in the niche on the north side represents the goddess Durgā in the act of slaying the demons.[1] Her head is encircled with a circular flaming halo of similar design to those of the two previously described sculptures. She also wears a crown and a long garland hanging down from the shoulders to below the knees. She is eight-armed, whence the name *Ashṭabhujī*, by which she is commonly indicated. With one of her right hands she plunges a trident (*triśūla*) into the body of a demon, whose tuft of hair she has seized with one of her left hands and who seems to struggle in her grip. The remaining three right hands of the goddess hold a thunderbolt (*vajra*) half broken but similar in shape to the *rdorje* of the Lamas, an arrow (*bāṇa*, *śara*) and a sword (*khaḍga*). The three remaining emblems on the left side are a bell (*ghaṇṭa*), a cup (*pātra*) and a bow (*dhanus*, *chāpa*).

To the left of Durgā, somewhat in the background, is a second demon, armed with sword and shield, who seems to strike a desperate blow at the warlike goddess. The demon in front, somewhat larger in size, has already been described; he also holds an elongated shield attached to his left arm. We may assume that these two demons represent the Asura kings Śumbha and Niśumbha who were slain by Durgā—a much-lauded act of the goddess.[2]

Another not less famous exploit of Durgā, the destruction of the "Buffalo" demon (*Mahishāsura*) is also shown in this same bas-relief. For at her feet we notice the prostrate body of the buffalo, its head severed from the trunk whence issues half-way the vanquished demon-king in human shape, clasping a mace in his right hand.

Finally we notice near the right foot of the goddess (with which she tramples on her enemy) the head of her vehicle, the lion, who takes an active part in the combat by attacking two fallen Asuras with tooth and nail. All the details of the scene here hewn in stone are in perfect agreement with the sacred text in which the deeds of the demon-slaying goddess are extolled.[3]

To complete the description of the Bajaurā temple, we must call attention to the two female figures, carved on two slabs (2′ 7″ by 1′ 2″) which are found on both sides of the entrance porch (Plate VIII). They personify the two sacred rivers, Gaṅgā and Yamunā (the Ganges and Jamna), which we find regularly represented on both sides of the doorways of ancient temples all over Northern India.[4] Gaṅgā, placed to the left side on entering the temple, is shown standing on a lotus cushion supported by a crocodile or *makara*. This animal emerging from a mass of scroll-work is so

[1] This sculpture has been reproduced by Mr. E. B. Havell in his book *Benares the sacred city*, p. 167. In the text (p. 166) it is erroneously stated that it comes from Chambā.

[2] At the end of the sixth act of "The little clay cart" (*Mṛichchhakaṭikā*) Chandanaka, the police officer, says to Aryaka, the pretender :—

"May Śiva, Vishṇu, Brahmā, Three in one,
Protect thee, and the Moon, and blessed Sun,
Slay all thy foes, as mighty Pārvatī
Slew Śumbha and Niśumbha fearfully."

(Dr. A. W. Ryder's translation. Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. IX, p. 104.)

[3] Cf. *Durgāsaptaśatī* (Bombay 1871) forming part of the *Mārkaṇḍēya-purāna*.

[4] Cf. *A. S. R.* for 1908-9, p. 9.

TEMPLE OF MAHADEVA AT BAJAURA, KULU.



(a) IMAGE OF GANGA.



(b) IMAGE OF YAMUNA.

conventionally treated as to be almost unrecognizable, but its head with the snout-like upper jaw holding a lotus-stalk is quite clear. The river goddess is two-armed and lifts on the palm of her left hand a *lota*-like vase to the height of her shoulder in the manner of Indian women. Her right hand resting on the crowned head of a dwarf-like attendant holds a long lotus stalk which rises in various stems, each carrying a flower or bud. A second attendant, somewhat larger than the first and evidently female, holds the long staff of an umbrella which forms a canopy over the head of the main figure in the midst of over-hanging palm-leaves. The corresponding figure on the right side of the temple entrance is the river goddess Yamunā, as appears from the tortoise, her vehicle, the head of which is visible among the scrolly foliage at her feet. The attitude of the goddess is similar to that of her counterpart just described, but she has only one female attendant, and at the end of the long staff which the latter is holding we notice a kind of fan visible over the head of the divine figure. On both sculptures the two river goddesses stand out gracefully against the background of luxuriant flowers and foliage.

There can be little doubt that the three large image-slabs as well as the two last-described, were all carved at the same time, as is evident from the similarity of style and the sameness of certain decorative details. The three figures in the niches are all provided with the same circular halo, and the Vishṇu image in the back niche wears a three-pointed crown identical with the diadems worn by the goddess Durgā and by the two sacred Rivers. The exact time of execution is not so easy to establish, but the excellent workmanship of the large bas-reliefs and, in fact, of all the sculptural decoration on the Bajaurā temple points to an early period.

Unfortunately we possess no data, apart from the evidence of style, to settle the chronological problem.[1] It is true that on the right door-jamb there is an inscription, but it must be posterior by many centuries to the founding of the temple. It is written in the Ṭāṅkarī character and composed in the vernacular, and records a donation of land to Mahādēva by a Rājā Śyāma-sēna in the year 49. Now we may safely identify the princely donor of the inscription with Rājā Śyām Sēn of the neighbouring hill-state of Maṇḍī, whose *satī* monument is still extant.[2] It bears an inscription recording that Rājā Śyām Sēn "went to heaven with five queens, two concubines and thirty-seven slave-girls on the 12th day of Sauj of the year 55." The date is expressed in the *Lōkakāla* or *Saptarshi* era (also called *Śāstra* era) and must correspond to A.D. 1679. It follows that the date of the Ṭāṅkarī inscription on the Bajaurā temple corresponds to A.D. 1673.

The earliest recorded account of the Bajaurā temple is that by the traveller William Moorcroft who passed through the Kuḷū valley on his way to Ladakh and Bukhara in August 1820.[3]

"The road [from the Pass]," he says, "was now a continued descent and was

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[1] In a recently published guide-book (*To Kuḷu and back* by M. C. Forbes, Simla 1911, p. 59) I find it stated that the Bajaurā temple "was built when Jaggat Singh in the 17th century popularised the worship of Vishnu in this country." This statement, which is without any foundation, is the more astonishing, as the temple is plainly dedicated to Śiva.

[2] Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XIV, p. 213, Plate XXX.

[3] W. Moorcroft and G. Trebeck, *Travels, in the Himalayan provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab.* London 1841, Vol. II, pp 169 ff.

accompanied by many water-courses, which uniting at the foot of an eminence, on which stood the village of Syri, formed a considerable stream, the Rupareri. This river here divides Mundi from Kulu, and running under the walls of Bajaura, falls into the Byas on its right bank. Bajaura is a large square fort belonging to Kulu; it consists of square towers connected by a low curtain; the whole built of hewn stone strengthened with beams of fir. On the right bank of the Rupareri was a Hindu temple covered with sculptures in relief, in general well executed. A sort of chest with raised sides, and festooned with flowers, was an ornament frequently repeated,[1] but the chief decoration was in the clustered pilasters at the doorways, tastefully entwined by richly-carved scrolls of creeping foliage. There were many images most of which were in good preservation, except their noses, which were said to have been knocked off by the soldiers of the grand-father of Sansar Chand when he invaded Kulu. Mr. Trebeck informed me that the statues of the Rajas of Mundi have suffered a similar mutilation."

It is difficult to decide when exactly the war between Kāṅgṛā and Kuḷū referred to by Moorcroft took place, as the history of the Panjāb hill states during the 18th century is one of continual warfare. This is evidenced by the Chambā archives. Here we find an agreement written in Ṭāṅkarī whereby Rājā Sansār Chand of Kāṅgṛā, Rājā Rāj Siṅgh of Chambā, Rājā Shamshēr Sēn of Maṇḍī and Miān Surmā Sēn of the same state combined to attack Makarsā (i.e. Kuḷū), seize Baṅgahāl and divide it equally among them, each taking the portion nearest his own territory. The document is dated, Māgh, Vikrama 1834 (A. D. 1777).[2] It appears that the three allies were successful as far as Baṅgahāl was concerned which then ceased to exist as an independent principality. The tragic death of the last Rājā of Baṅgahāl is still remembered in a popular ballad. In Lahul, Dr. A. H. Francke recovered another song relating to a battle fought near Bajaurā in which apparently a Lahuli contingent fought under the Kuḷū Rājā against the invaders from Kāṅgṛā.

If, however, Moorcroft was rightly informed that the images on the Bajaurā temple were mutilated by the soldiery of Sansār's grand-father, the damage must have occurred on the occasion of some earlier invasion.[3] The grandfather of Sansār Chand was Ghamand Chand.

An accurate description of the temple, as stated above, was given by Captain A. F. P. Harcourt in his useful book on the Kuḷū sub-division of which he held charge as an Assistant Commissioner.[4]

J. PH. VOGEL.

[1] I suspect that the "vase and foliage ornament" is meant.

[2] *Catalogue of the Bhuri Singh Museum at Chamba* (*Chamba State*), Calcutta 1909, p. 69, No. C-18.

[3] When visiting the temple a few years ago, I was told that the damage was due to the Sikhs. This shows how little one can rely on "tradition,"

[4] It is also mentioned by J. Calvert, *Vazeeri Rupi* (London 1873), p. 15, who gives some very crude reproductions of sketches of some of the sculptures, and of a hand copy of the inscription togther with an inaccurate coloured picture of the temple.

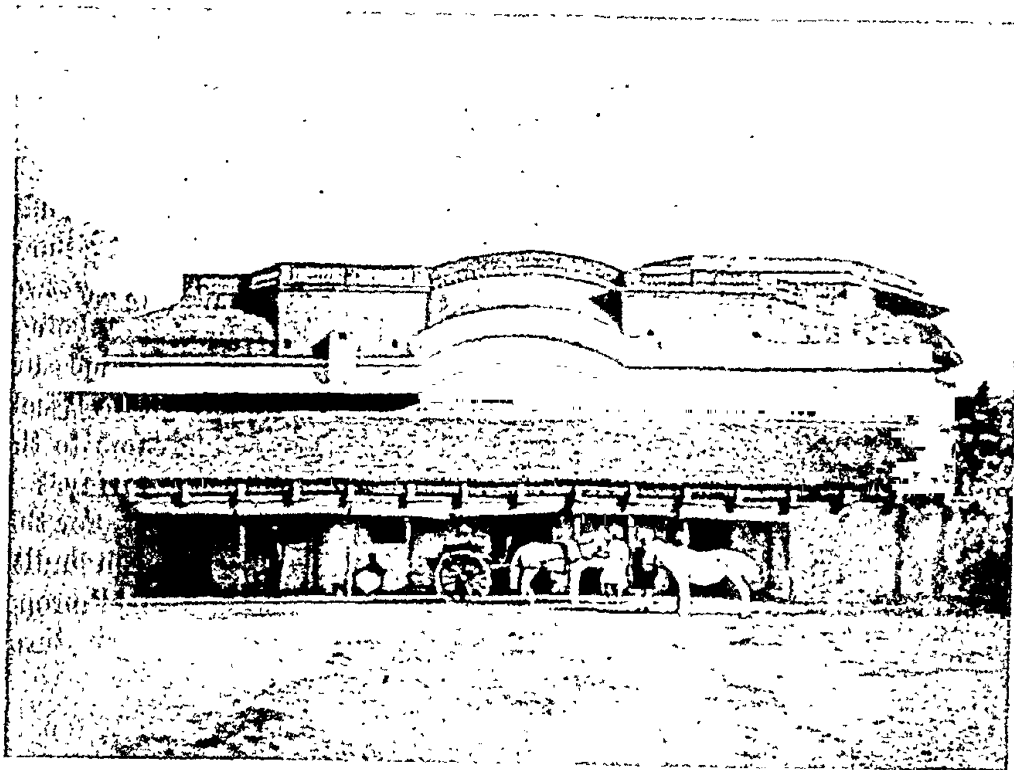


Fig. 1.

THE SHĀH BURJ, DELHI FORT.

IN 1902 the Director General of Archæology recommended that the "Burj"[1] with its adjoining pavilion of white marble, be taken in hand, "so that it might take its part in the scheme for the conservation of the Hayāt Bakhsh Garden." In 1904 all traces of the two modern doorways which had been cut in the back wall were removed and the marble dado restored in the openings. The sloping marble cascade referred to below was reconstructed and the tank in the floor of the building and the original form of the roof were revealed by dismantling of modern additions. The earthquake of 4th April 1905 rendered considerable structural repairs necessary without further delay, and an estimate embodying these repairs was prepared. The central and eastern domes of the pavilion fell down, bringing with them a great portion of the marble *chajja*, and causing many cracks in the marble roofing slabs. The marble roof-supporting arches were also seriously disturbed and in June of the same year it was noticed that the outer pillars were out of plumb. It was then found necessary to take down and rebuild the whole of the outer or southern front of the pavilion. The actual work on the building did not however begin until January 1908.

[1] The text illustration is reproduced from a photograph taken in 1877, when the Shāh Burj, like all other buildings in the Delhi Fort, had been put to some practical use. At the time it was occupied as the private quarters of Captains Stratford and Collis of the 1st Warwickshire regiment. I owe it to the kindness of Mrs. Stratford that I am in a position to publish here this interesting photograph.

Primarily it must be remembered that the pavilion is only a part of the S͟hah Burj erected by S͟hāh-jahān. The "Burj," or "Tower" itself, lies behind it and is entered from the small room on the east side of the pavilion. The building is situated in the extreme north-east corner of the "Life-bestowing" Garden and at the end of the terrace overlooking the low-lying land between the Fort and the *Jamna*. The little marble pavilion consists of a central compartment flanked by two small rooms, with a "verandah" of five bays on its south side, the central bay being rather larger than the others. Its total frontage is 63 feet 3 inches, its lateral measurements being some 32 feet. In the central compartment is a square tank, with a "scolloped" basin, which was found hidden under the modern floor. Water came to the S͟hāh Burj through an aqueduct, which ran along the north side of the Hayāt Bak͟hs͟h Garden, and entered the pavilion at the back of the central niche. For this latter at first it was hard to assign a meaning. Modern brickwork had been built in the niche recess and a modern doorway led from the pavilion to the "Burj" proper, then used for military purposes. The back wall had also been broken through in

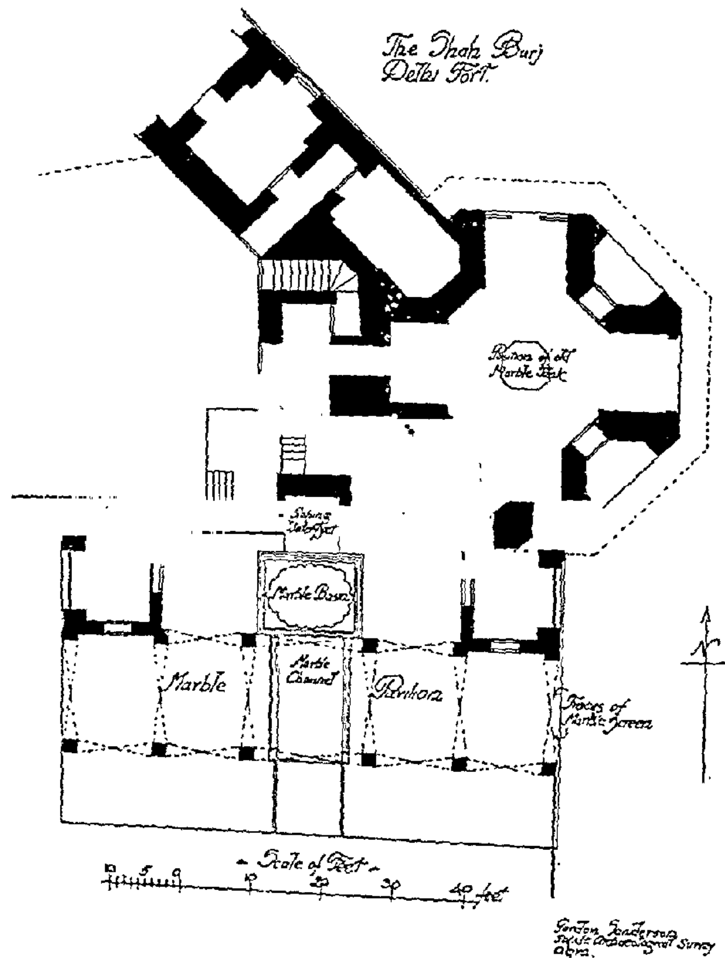
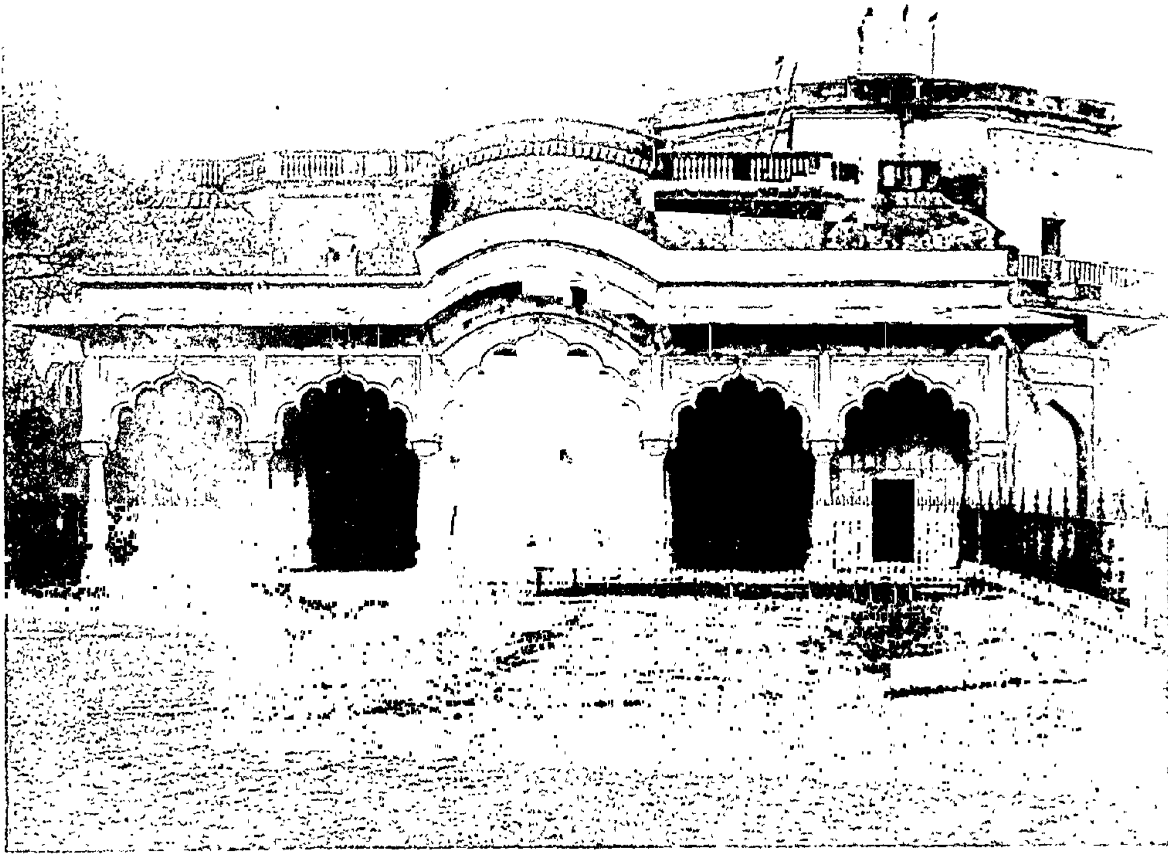


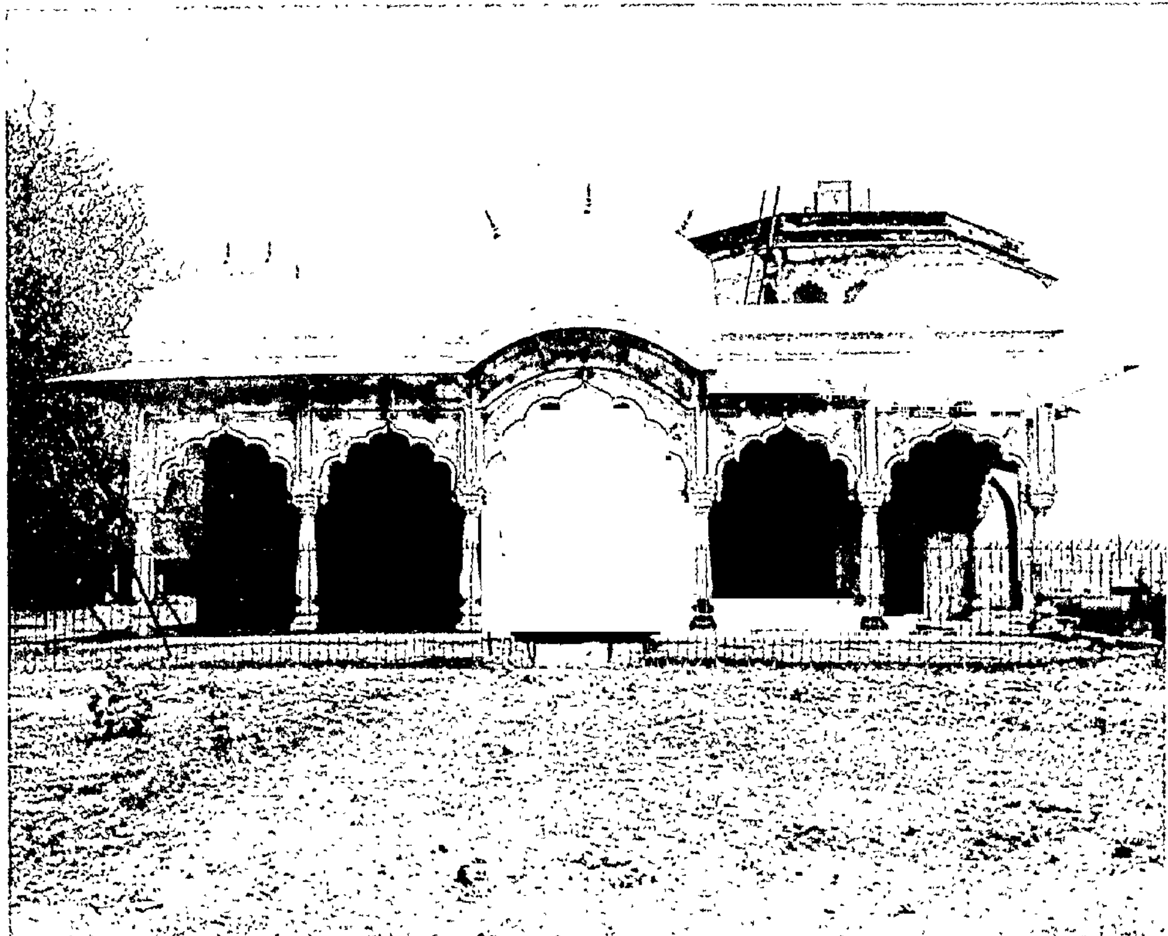
Fig. 2.

another place for the purpose of a *doorway*. Mr. Marshall in a Note, dated the 8th of October 1902, says :—"After the removal of the modern work in the

THE SHAH BURJ, DELHI FORT.



(*a*) BEFORE EARTHQUAKE OF 1905.



central niche, a horizontal ledge was found in the back of the niche, 6 feet above ground level. From the extremities of this ledge two straight strips ran down along both the sides of the niche reaching the back wall of the building at a height of 3 feet 9 inches above the ground. Only that part of the wall which is above the sloping strips is faced with marble."

It was surmised by Mr. Marshall—and from the particulars given above it will appear that this supposition was correct—that the niche originally contained a sloping marble slab, 8 feet 6 inches in width, fitting between the ledge in the back and the two strips in the side walls of the niche. A small portion of the sloping slab, with its peculiar sunk pattern, was found in position, where it joined the edge of the marble basin. Some other broken pieces were also found in the basin itself, which had been filled up to make an even floor. Over this slab the water flowed down from the Shāh Burj and fell into the tank. This sloping waterway has accordingly been reconstructed.[1]

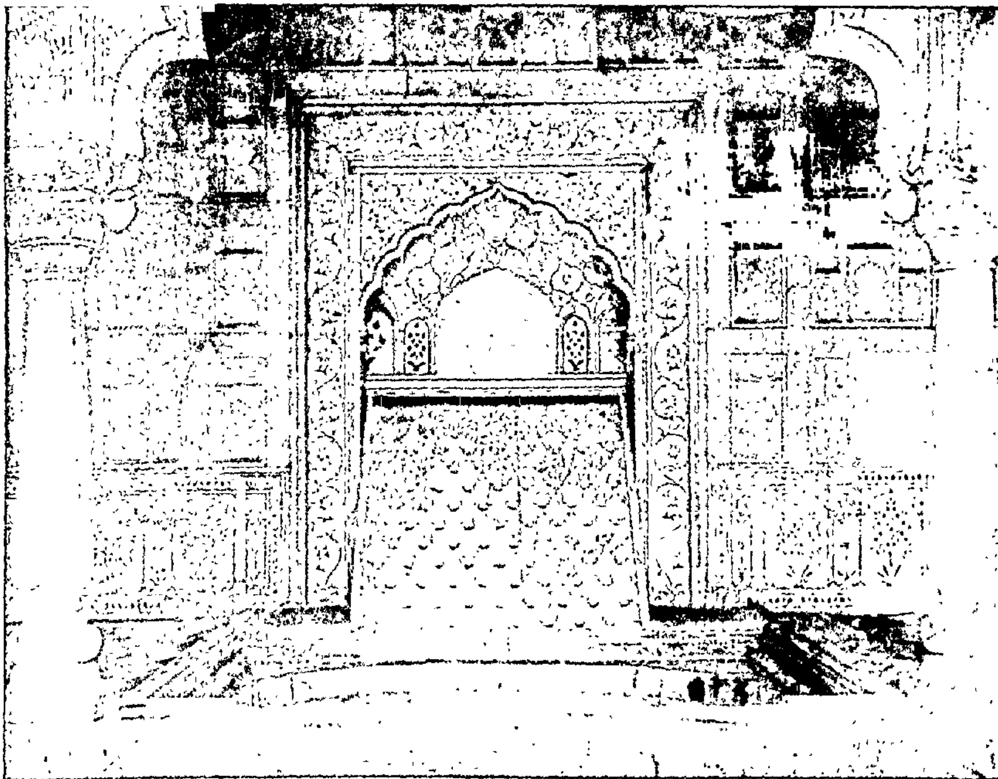


Fig. 3.

The square framing of the tank is ornamented with *pietra dura* work, as are the spandrels at its four corners. The dado shows traces of the marble balustrade, about 3 feet 6 inches in height, which flanked the tank on its east and west sides. How well did the Mughals understand artistic comfort! The water rippling down the sloping cascade and plashing into the marble basin must have often soothed the Monarch weary with affairs of state, and delighted the ladies of the Seraglio.

From the tank, the water passed into a shallow rectangular basin of white marble, 9 feet 6 inches in width, the marble slabs composing it being cut so as to present a peculiar curvilinear pattern. Some of the old slabs were found *in situ*, and the

[1] Cf. *A. S. R.* for 1904-5 pp. 17 ff; fig. 10.

remainder have been restored (Fig. 4). Thence the water ran into the Nahr-i-Bihisht, or "Stream of Paradise" which flowed in an ornamental channel along the east terrace of the Fort to the "Royal Baths," and on through the buildings which formed the private apartments of the Palace.

The work of repair may be cited as a good example of archæological conservation work and every praise is due to Rai Sahib Bishambar Nath, the Executive Engineer of Delhi, who was in charge of the work. Prior to dismantling, the building was most systematically measured, and the stones were carefully numbered and photographed, while the greatest care was taken to match the old marble, where new pieces had to be put in. Why the building suffered so severely in comparison with others in the Fort is hard to say, but it may be that its foundations do not go down to bed-rock as is probably the case with the foundations of the other buildings on the east wall of the Fort.

The inlay work, with which the interior of the building and tank was decorated, has mostly gone, for which the Rohillas under Ghulām Qādir are probably more to blame than the recent military occupation. The marble dado, inlaid with *pietra*

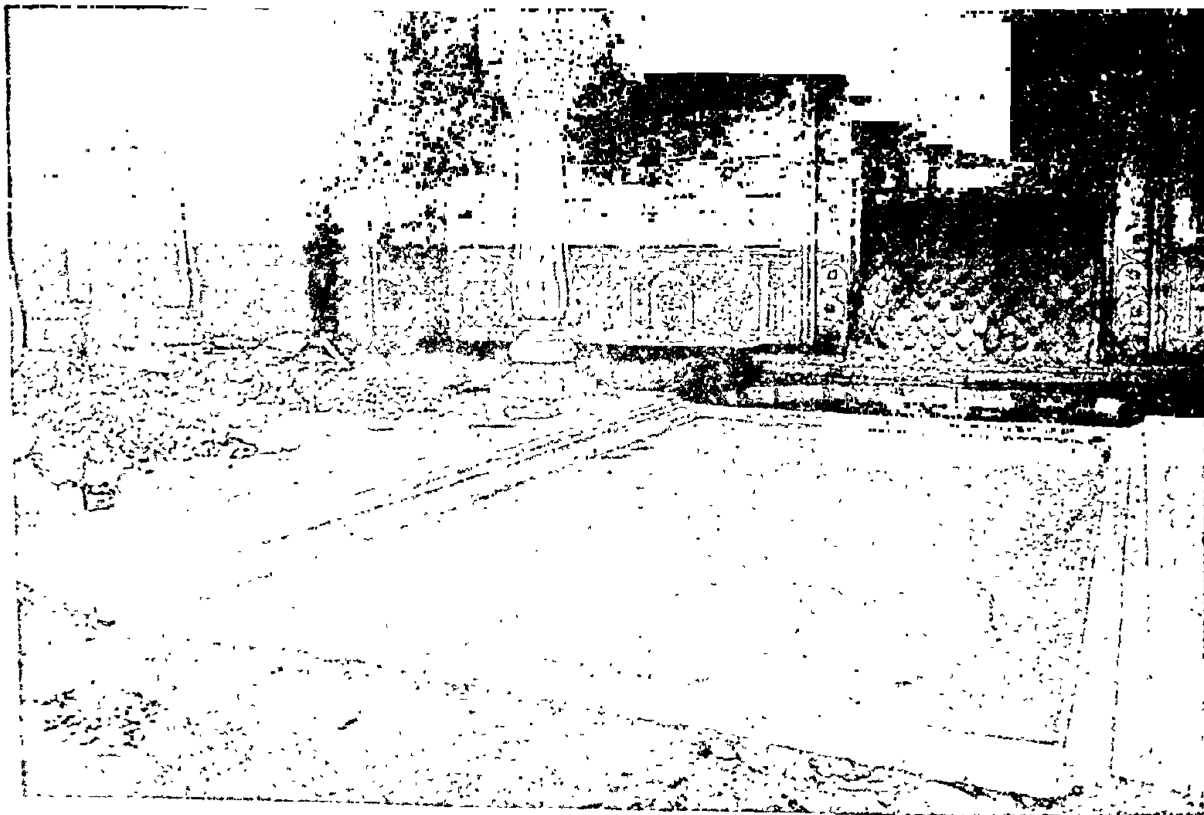


Fig. 4.

dura work, is spaced into panels by floral designs, the borders of the dado being formed by a simple intertwining pattern. The framing of the niche, a broad cavetto, is adorned with a somewhat similar intertwining pattern which is also extended to the spandrels of the niche arch. The upper and inner portion of the niche is relieved

by a curvilinear design, the centre of each "mesh" being marked by a flower. The *pietra dura* work is not so lavishly used as in other buildings of Shāh-jahān, but its treatment is undeniably graceful.

The cusping of the arch over the niche terminates in little pendents of similar character to those on the outer arches. Above the dado the wall surface is broken up into a series of superposed panels. The origin of the peculiar shape of these panels may be looked for in the earlier buildings, in the walls of which were little multifoil-arched niches, which served for the storing of books (as in Akbar's library, Agra Fort), articles of clothing, and for the lamps used to light the rooms on festive occasions. The Mughal builders evidently found the treatment a successful one and carried on the feeling by means of panelling.

The modern balustrading and cookhouse on the roof seen in Plate IX*a* also fell down owing to the earthquake and in the reconstruction of the roof these two modern accretions have, needless to say, been omitted. The domes constructed of brick and rendered outside with polished *chunam* have, by the replacement of their finials and lotus-leaf crestings, been restored to their original condition. The domes do not represent the internal arrangement and are constructed most probably for effect, and perhaps partly to keep the building cool. The central compartment, higher than the others, is ceiled by a vault of "Bengali" type. This, it is true, is repeated in the form of the external central dome. The ceilings of the smaller compartments, however, consist of a flat sunk panel, formed of marble slabs, and only the two outer east and west compartments are indicated by domes. The ceiling-cornice is of simple section, well adapted to the nature of the material employed. Its principal member is a deep cavetto which dispels any abrupt effect that might be due to a flat ceiling meeting with an internal wall. It also gives the idea of support.

After the earthquake it was found necessary to shore up the building until repairs could be effected. This was done with temporary brick centering (in India a cheaper commodity than wood). The total amount spent on the conservation of the pavilion amounted to R15,448, to which must be added the sum of R2,807 for the restoration of the central marble channel.

Built during the reign of Shāh-jahān, at a time when that Emperor was leaving his memory indelibly stamped on the architecture of India, even this little edifice exhibits the gradual decline of Mughal architecture. The small Mughal cinquefoil arches of the pavilion are certainly somewhat weak, the foils themselves and the whole arch being flat. This is not so noticeable in the larger central arch. The horizontal run of the *chajja* is broken over this arch, a treatment not found in earlier buildings. It is often the case that a wave of architectural enthusiasm marks the beginning of the decadence of the style employed. Exuberance in architecture must be curbed, and restraint in form and design rigidly practised. What in Mughal architecture can equal the buildings of Akbar, so perfect in their proportion, so sensibly and solidly constructed, and yet with such a sense of refinement and delicacy in their ornament! At first sight it may appear strange that with the advent of more advanced European civilisation the decline of Mughal buildings should have set in, but the art and architecture of the west were ill adapted to a

country whose influences—climatic, religious and social—were so different. There were other forces that were sapping the Empire so firmly established by Akbar, and the last years of S̱hāh-jahān's life saw him a prisoner at Agra and his sons fighting for the throne—a period of anarchy that sounded the death-knell of Mug̱hal architecture.

European influence appears to be traceable in the acanthus foliage which tops the capitals of the columns. The mouldings, by which the façade is divided, as it were, into so many panels, merge into the foliage—another western touch. One can compare the vault ribs of some mighty mediæval cathedral, or the hood-mouldings of some traceried window, terminating in a boss of foliage, conventionally fashioned by the mediæval craftsman of Europe from a study of the flowers of his own country-side. A far cry, it is true, to Delhi and the palace of the great S̱hāh-jahān, "Ṣāḥibqirān-i-T̲h̲ānī, who has carried the banners of his glory beyond the sky and the sun."

According to Manucci, each of the forts at Agra, Delhi and Lahore had a S̱hāh Burj, and all of them were the work of S̱hāh-jahān. "There are," he says, "in the empire three principal imperial abodes; the most ancient is at Dilhī, the second at Agrah, the third at Lāhor. At each there is a great bastion, named the Xaaburg (S̱hāh-burj), which means 'Royal Bastion.' They are domed, and have architectural adornments of curious enamel work, with many precious stones. Here the king holds many audiences for selected persons, and from it he views the elephant fights and diverts himself with them."[1]

The S̱hāh Burj in the Lahore Fort is now known as the Saman (*i.e.*, Mut̲h̲ammam) Burj. But it is mentioned by its original name in the inscription over the Hāthī Pol or Elephant Gate.[2]

At Agra every visitor to the Fort knows that gem of Mug̱hal architecture referred to in the guide books as the "Jasmine Tower." The correct appellation of the building is the Mut̲h̲ammam Burj. It is possible that it was called the S̱hāh Burj originally as was the case at Lahore. The S̱hāh Burj at Delhi, which, as has been previously stated, lies behind the pavilion heretofore described, has undergone drastic changes since shortly before the Mutiny when Sayyid Aḥmad's Āt̲h̲āru-ṣ-Ṣanādīd was written. At the date of writing little has been done to it beyond the dismantling of all modern additions. It is perhaps not too much to express the hope that ere long it may be possible to give it more attention.

Lieutenant Francklin in his account of Delhi says:—"In the *Shah Baug,* or the royal gardens, is a very large octagon room, which looks towards the river Jumna. This room is called *Shah Boorj* or the royal tower; it is lined with marble; and from the window of it, the late heir apparent, Mirza Juwan Bukht [Jawān Bakẖt], made his escape in the year 1784, when he fled to *Lucknow*; he descended by means of a ladder made with turbans, and as the height is inconsiderable, effected it with ease. A great part of this noble palace [referring to the whole Fort] has suffered very much by the destructive ravages of the late invaders. The *Rohillas,* in particular, who were introduced by Gholaum Kauder [G̱hulām Qādir] have

[1] Niccolao Manucci, *Storia do Mogor* translated by W. Irvine, London, 1907. Vol. II, p. 463.
[2] *Cf. A. S. R.* for 1902-03, pp. 221 ff.

stripped many of the rooms of their marble ornaments and pavements, and have even picked out the stones from the borders of many of the floorings."[1]

The Rohillas passed three days in digging up the floors for treasure which they supposed had been hidden in the palace by the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam, whom they blinded, when their quest proved vain. Mīrza Jawān Bakht was anxious to inform the British Governor, newly arrived at Lucknow, of the disorderly state of affairs at Delhi, consequent on the appointment of Afrāsyāb Khān, who had been created Amīr-ul-umra, or "Premier noble of the realm," by the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam, mainly at the instigation of the sister of Mīrza Najāf Khān, the deceased Premier. Keene in his "Fall of the Moghul Empire," seems to point out that it was from the Salīmgarh that Jawān Bakht escaped, after secretly departing in disguise from his chamber in the palace, and passing from the roof of one building to the roof of another, until he reached the aqueduct[2] which crossed the garden Hayāt Bakhsh. "The night was stormy, and the prince was suffering from a fever, but he found a breach where the canal issued, by which he got to the rampart of the Salimgarh. Here he descended by means of a rope, and joined his friends on the river sands."[3]

Bishop Heber, when visiting Delhi in 1824-25, remarks on, "a beautiful octagonal pavilion [at the end of the terrace], also of marble, lined with the same Mosaic flowers as in the room which I first saw, with a marble fountain in its centre, and a beautiful bath in a recess at one of its sides. The windows of this pavilion, which is raised to the height of the city wall, command a good view of Delhi and its neighbourhood. But all was, when we saw it, dirty, lonely and wretched: the bath and fountain dry: the inlaid pavement hid with lumber and gardener's sweepings, and the walls stained with the dung of birds and bats."[4]

The following description, from the Āthāru-s-Sanādīd, gives a good idea of the tower, and from it the reader must be left to conjecture its pristine condition, with the help of the photographs showing it in its present state.

"This tower," says Sayyid Ahmad, "is also a wonderful building. Its diameter is sixteen *gaz*. Its structure is three-storeyed. The first storey is built on a plinth 12 *gaz* above the ground. Its ceiling is round inside and flat from above. The building is wholly of stone. It is built of marble to the dado, with a work in mosaic and stones of various colours, and from the dado to the ceiling it is made white with the Pathānī stone (?) and has gilt foliage. This storey is octagonal and its diameter is 8 *gaz*. It contains four niches and two semi-octagonal seats overlooking the river. Its front is of marble. The northern and eastern niches are each 4 by 4 *gaz* and the western and southern each 4 by 3 *gaz*. In the middle of the octagonal storey there is a tank with a diameter of 3 *gaz* so charming and extremely beautiful that on a view of its decorative work the intellect is at a loss and calls to mind the work of God.[5] In the western niche there is a waterfall and small arched niches, wherein flowers are placed in the day time and lamps at night. In front of this waterfall there is a tank of marble 3½ by 2½ *gaz*.

[1] *Asiatick Researches*, Vol. IV, pp. 430 ff.

[2] Nahr-i-Faiz, a canal of old foundation which was restored to use by Shāh-jahān on his building the fort.

[3] H. G. Keene, *The Fall of the Moghul Empire*, London and Calcutta, 1876, pp. 145 ff.

[4] Heber, *Narrative of a journey through the upper provinces of India*, London, 1828, Vol. II, pp. 303 ff.

[5] I have recently found this. All that remains are some marble slabs which form three sides of the tank.

From this tank to the edge of the eastern niche there is a canal 1½ *gaz* wide, wholly of marble, very fine with a work of mosaic and relief. The two tanks have the same work in mosaic and relief, and the cornelian, coral and other precious stones have been set therein. From this canal branches off another which flows into the tank of the western niche and which, coming therefrom in the canal of the tower and passing through the octagonal tank, flows towards the eastern niche, under which, on the riverside, a waterfall is constructed. The waterworks in the whole Fort start from this very place [the Shāh Burj] and the water-courses for every part have been made in this very tower. Each water-course bears the name of the tank or canal to which it runs. The building of the second storey is also octagonal and fine, with a diameter of 8 *gaz*, and on its eight sides is a verandah all along of twenty-four pillars. The building of the third storey is a domed pavilion with eight pillars. Its dome is of marble with a golden pinnacle. In short, this building is very magnificent."[1]

GORDON SANDERSON.

[1] *Āthāru-s Sanādīd*, Cawnpore 1904, Chapter II, pp. 48 ff. *Cf. J. A.*, Series 5, Vol. XV (1860), pp. 217 ff.

THE DĪWĀN-I-'ĀMM, LAHORE FORT.

COMPARED architecturally with its sister buildings at Agra and Delhi, the Dīwān-i-'āmm or Hall of Public Audience in the Lahore Fort is disappointing. It is to its historical associations and to the ceremonies enacted in it that it owes its claims to recognition. For many years used by the military for barrack purposes which went far to deprive it of its former glory, it now stands out of what was once the great quadrangle, wherein the king was wont to review his troops and receive his subjects in audience, a pathetic relic of past splendour. No longer does it look out on the elephants as they passed in review before the "Great Mogul," or the throngs of Amīrs and Rājās bowing low in obeisance to the figure in the *jharōka*, but on the inevitable football ground and goal-posts of the British soldier.

As far back as May 1901, Dr. Vogel, then Archæological Surveyor of the Panjāb Circle, was asked to report on the ancient buildings in Lahore Fort. Twenty years before, Major Cole, R.E., Curator of Ancient Monuments, had expressed the hope, "that all buildings of interest in the Lahore Fort be as far as possible restored and fenced in so as to keep them separate from the barrack buildings, and that they be kept solely as show places and as the only means of perpetuating some of the most beautiful and interesting specimens of Lahore Imperial Mughal Art." It is only recently that these recommendations have partly borne fruit.

The gradual evacuation of the old buildings of interest by the military is now steadily going on, and the Dīwān-i-'āmm, the Chhōṭī Khwābgāh and the Mōtī Masjid have already been taken over by the Archæological Department. These are the first moves in the scheme by which it is hoped to put the Lahore Fort on the same footing, so far as conservation is concerned, as the Forts of Agra and Delhi.

In revisualising the arrangement of the buildings in which the Dīwān-i-'āmm was the principal and central feature, it must be remembered that, of the great quadrangle, from the centre of the northern side of which the Audience Hall projected, all that is left is a little cloister through which access is gained to the Mōtī Masjid. The great quadrangle, 730 feet by 460 feet, was entered from the east and west sides. In the first year of his reign (A.D. 1628), Shāh-jahān ordered the Dīwān-i-'āmm to be erected simultaneously with the one in the Agra Fort. The work was carried out under the supervision of the Emperor's father-in-law, Yamīnu-d-daulah Āṣif Khān, then

Governor of the city, who was also in charge of the building operations at the neighbouring Shāh Burj. Shāh-jahān's motive for its erection is explained by 'Abdu-l-Ḥamīd, the court chronicler, who states that in the reigns of the Emperor's father and grand-father the assembled courtiers had only an awning to shelter them from the sun and rain. It was, therefore, the Emperor's order that "a hall of forty pillars be erected, in front of the *jharōkā* of the Daulat-khāna-i-khāṣṣ-o-'āmm." (Fig. 1.)

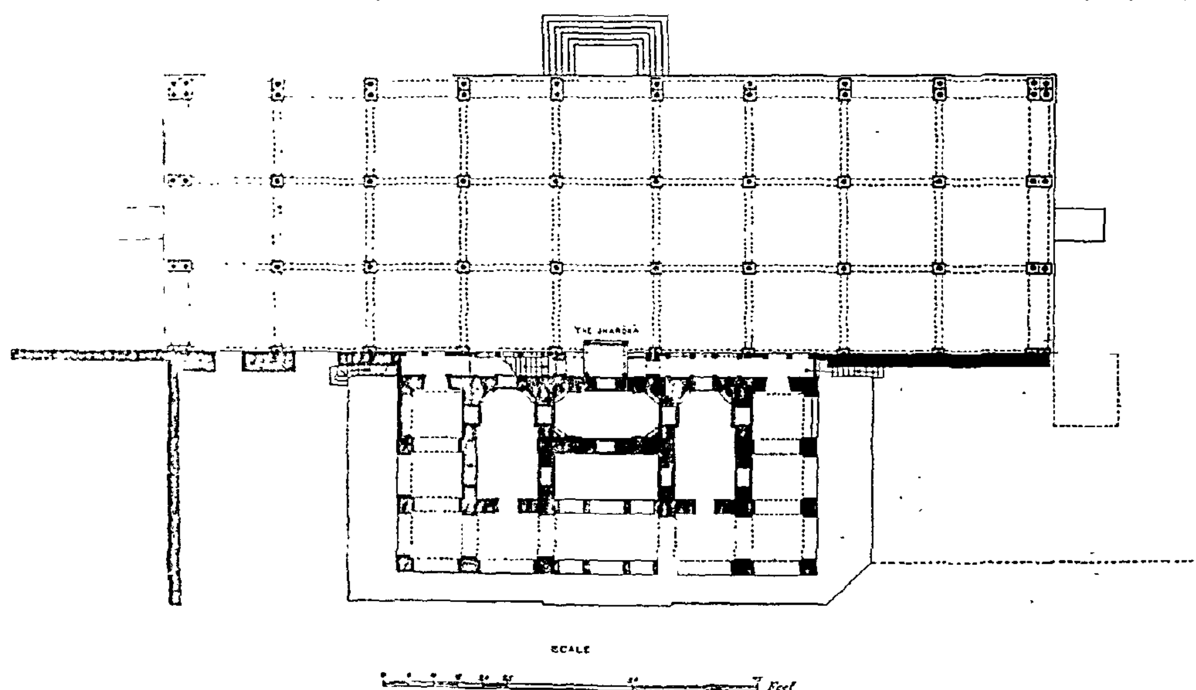
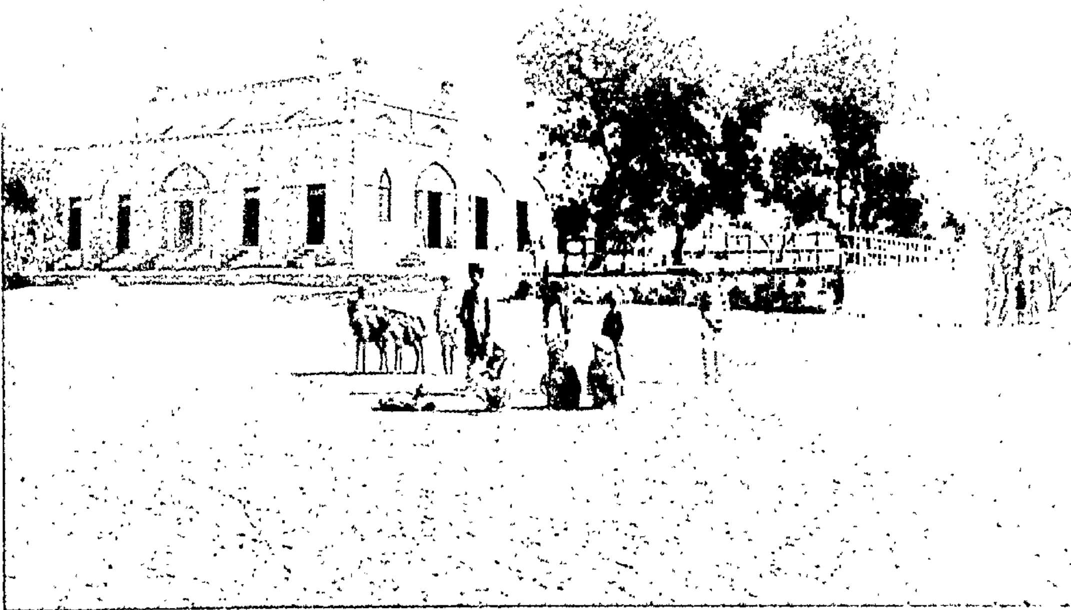


Fig. 1.

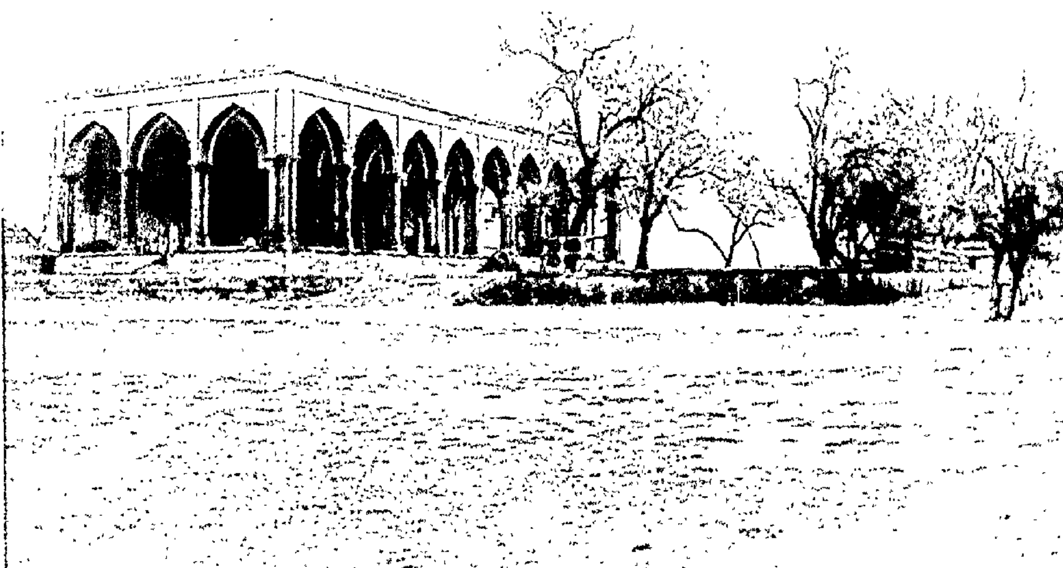
'Abdul-Ḥamīd's account is worth quoting in full. "In the reigns of their departed Majesties [Akbar and Jahāngīr], and after the accession of the Lord of the World [Shāh-jahān], till this date [4th Dhu-l-ḥijjah, A.H. 1037, *i.e.*, the 10th May, A.D. 1628) in front of the *jharōkā* of the Daulat-khāna-i-khāṣṣ-o-'āmm (Hall of public and private Audience) where all servants gain the fortune of admittance [to the royal presence] and of the interview, there was no building [in the Agra Fort] to protect the courtiers (lit: adherents of the royal carpet) from rain and heat, and an awning of cloth used to be erected, as has been mentioned above. As in this august age all means of comfort that a ruler can give have passed from the region of potentiality into that of actuality, and every ornament of the world has hastened from the nadir of non-existence to the zenith of existence, in accordance with the royal order, masons like magicians and carpenters like Āzar[1] finished a lofty hall, that has raised its head to Saturn, and a high building that has reached the entrance[2] of the seventh heaven, in front of the *jharōkā* of the Daulat-khāna-i-khāṣṣ-o-'āmm, 70 imperial yards long and 22 imperial yards broad, in forty days, as had been conceived in the enlightened mind of the world-conquering Emperor. Those who stand before the royal throne [thus] acquired a fresh shelter from the rain and the sun, and the face of

[1] Name or title of Abraham's father, who was an idol maker. Cf. *Qurān, sūra VI*, verse 74.

[2] The lote tree in the seventh heaven beyond which the Angel Gabriel cannot go. Cf. *Qurān, sūra LIII*, verse 14. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* s. v. سدر



(a) VIEW FROM WEST IN 1903.

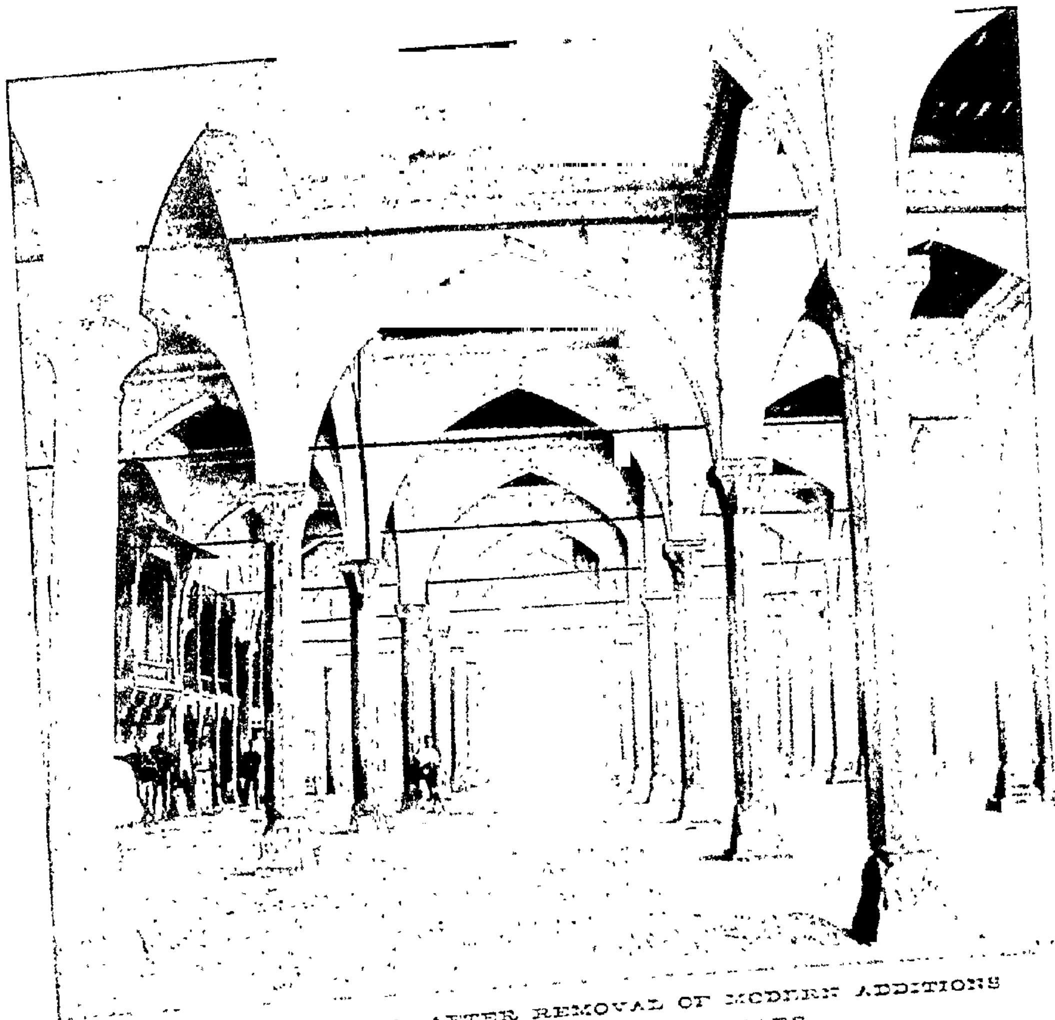


... OF MODERN ADDITIONS

DIWAN-I-'AMM, LAHORE FORT.



(*a*) VIEW FROM WEST; IN 1903.



(*b*) VIEW FROM WEST; AFTER REMOVAL OF MODERN ADDITIONS FROM THE THRONE AND PILLARS.

the heavenly court also gained an immeasurable ornament. On the three sides of this lofty hall, each of which has an entrance for the Amīrs, servants, and other officials of note, has been pitched a silver balustrade. In this palace, the servants stand in order of rank, and in an appointed place, and in a manner worthy of the assembly of mighty emperors. Most of them stand with their backs towards the balustrade, several who are distinguished by a closer connection [stand] by the two pillars which are near the *jharōkā*, and armour-bearers with golden banners and flags, in royal armour, towards the left hand with their backs turned to the wall. In front of this heaven-like building is a spacious court-yard with a coloured wooden balustrade around, on which are stretched canopies of brocaded velvet. In this place those whose rank is less than two hundred [horsemen] and bow-bearing *ahadīs*.[1] and skilled musketeers, and some of the attendant Amīrs, receive admittance. At the doors of the Daulat-khāna-i-khāṣṣ-o-ʿāmm and of both the balustrades, stand trustworthy mace-bearers, staff-bearers, and door-keepers, all in fine clothes, to refuse entrance to strangers and those who are unworthy of such an honour. The gleaner of good meanings and ornamenter of poetry, Ṭālib Kalīm, wrote this quatrain in praise of this lofty building, laid it before his most holy majesty, and the skirts of his hope became heavy with the royal reward.

'This new edifice of which the Divine throne is a neighbour,
Of whose rank Height is but a letter,
Is a garden, each pillar of which is a cypress,
In whose shade repose both nobles and common.'

The sacred decree went forth that in the capital of Lahore also should be constructed a high palace in front of the *jharōkā* of the Daulat-khāna-i-khāṣṣ-o-ʿāmm, in the same style [as at Agra], and that the building of the Shāh Burj should be completed."[2]

The *jharōkā* (Plate XI), which already existed at the time when Shāh-jahān made his addition, is a small projecting balcony of marble supported on sand-stone brackets. With its flanking arcades it formed the central feature of the façade in front of which Shāh-jahān erected his Dīwān-i-ʿāmm.

"Flanking the throne-balcony," the late Mr. Tucker wrote,[3] "is a long narrow passage, blocked at intervals by partition walls, but running the whole length of the hall on to which it opens at intervals between the pillars. A little careful demolition of these partition walls clearly showed that before the erection of the great hall an arcade of richly painted columns and brackets formed the main feature of the façade in the centre of which was the *jharōkā*. When the hall was added, the bays against which the back row of half columns were set, were filled up to support them and the continuity of the arcade was thus broken. At some later period, the lateral thrust of the arches being feared, the partition walls were built to take it and iron ties embedded in them. On one of these walls being partly demolished, all this became clear—the painted brackets of the embedded arcade, the rough filling and the back of the half column. Also three periods of decoration could be traced on the roof of the

[1] *Ahadīs*. A class of Indian Mansabdārs of the time of Akbar, with a nominal rank, having with them 20 foot or horse soldiers from the Emperor. *Cf. Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Blochman, pp. 246 and 249), Vol. I, p. 20; note 1.

[2] *Bādshāh Nāmah* (Calcutta 1867), Vol. I, pp. 221 ff.

[3] *Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Surveyor, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1910*, Allahabad, p. 17.

passage. First, a plaster face on the shallow vault composed of small facets set at slight angles with each other and decorated with gold and red incised lines. This was continuous from end to end of the gallery. Next followed a Sikh addition of glass *appliqué* to the original contours; this was also continuous. The third period was the flat panelled ceiling with a curved cornice, which we now see, decorated with the crudest painting and an inlay of round pieces of glass. This was not continuous but broken at a point 4″ from the centre line of the pier and coved as at the far ends. This coved end, however, does not appear to have rested on any wall, as the painted brackets, hitherto concealed by the modern partition wall of still later date, show no trace of any other wall. It is hoped that it will be possible to open up the whole length of this gallery despite the thrust of the outer pillars."

There still remain fragments of the marble railing within which only nobles of a certain rank might stand (Fig. 2). The existence of remnants of this

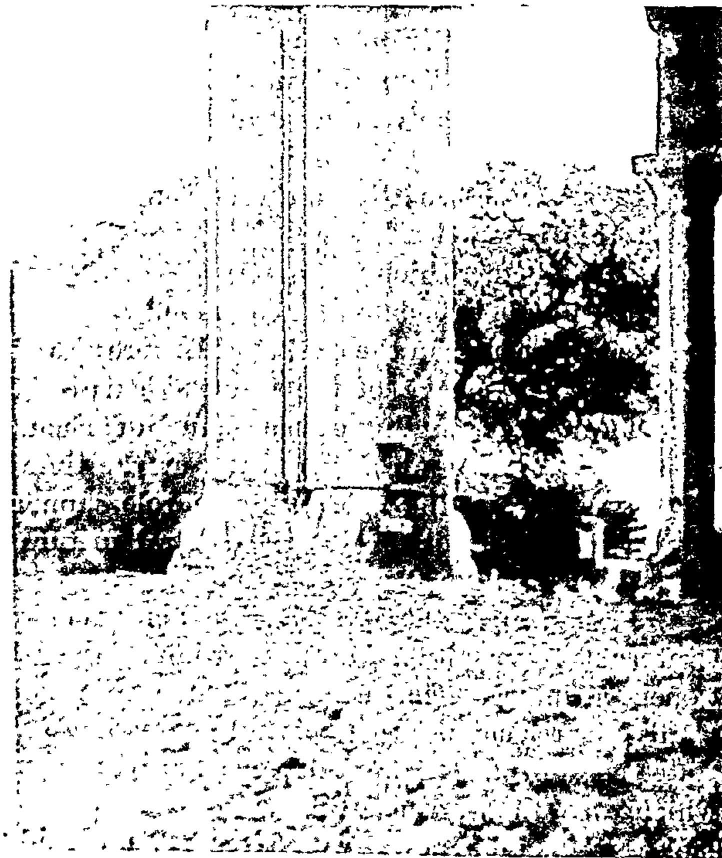


Fig. 2.

railing, together with the one of red sand-stone which encloses the raised platform in front of the building is one of the chief features in which the building differs from the Diwan-i-'ămm at Delhi and that at Agra. The sand-stone railing is of curious design (Fig. 3). It cannot be said to be a successful treatment of a "barrier" in stone, and it is open to doubt whether stone can be suitably adapted to serve a purpose for which wood has obviously been used in the first place. The *mutakka* posts are not systematically spaced. The cross-bars, the highest of which are four feet from the ground, are supported by dwarf brackets where they butt into the vertical

post. The fragments of these two railings have been carefully preserved and strengthened. The one formed the barrier between the courtiers who were admitted to the Hall itself and the less privileged, whereas the other separated the latter from the multitude gathered in the quadrangle

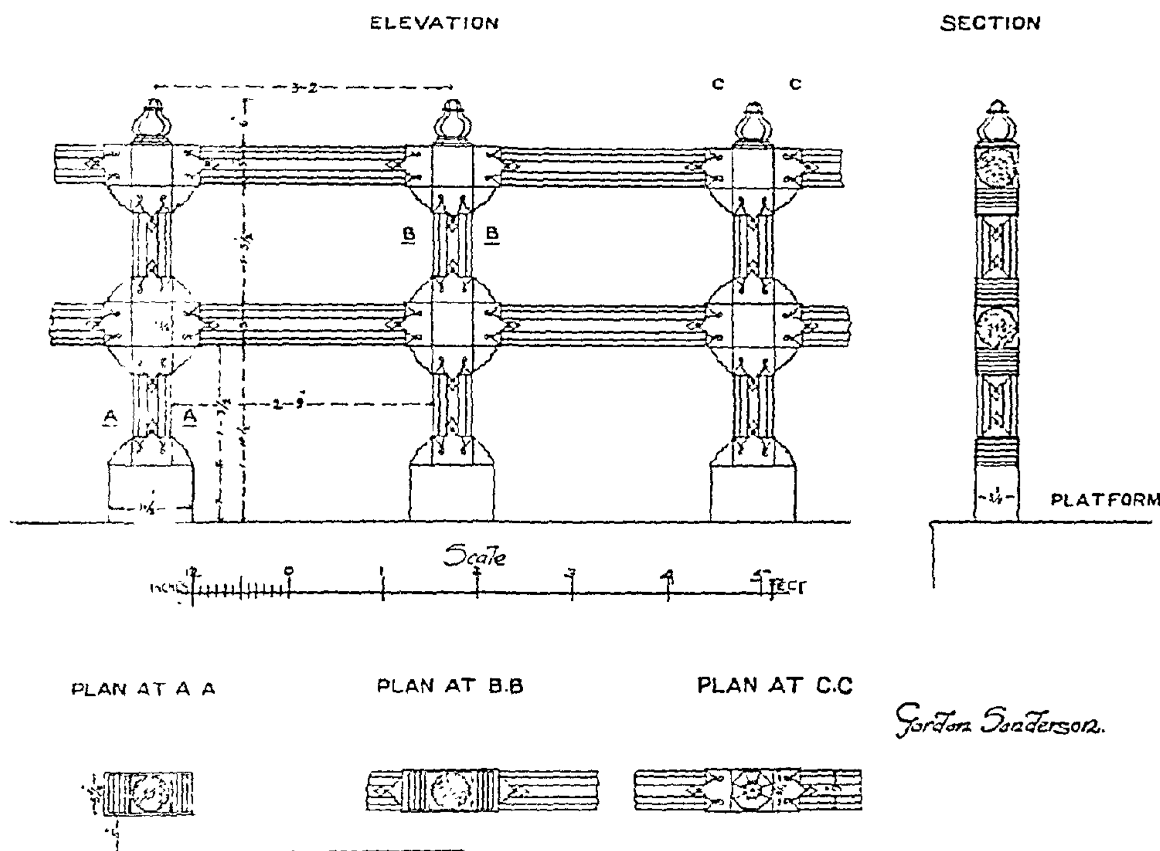


Fig. 3.

The raised platform is crowned by a red sand-stone coping (*dāsā*). A careful examination of this coping by the late Mr. Tucker showed that the platform was not ascended directly in front of the *jharōkā*. Indeed, the old stones clearly show that the railing at this point was uninterrupted and that therefore the entrance must have been at the sides. As regards the hall itself, Mr. Tucker succeeded in finding traces of the original sand-stone steps facing the *jharōkā*. These have accordingly been reconstructed.

The case of conservation presented by the Dīwān-i-'āmm was indeed a difficult one. The whole roof was new and the arches supporting it were built of British bricks plastered over, while the shafts of the columns, their capitals and bases, the original work of the Mughal builders, had lost their coating of shell plaster. As a thorough removal of all modern additions would have resulted in only the *jharōkā* and the columns being left, it was decided to retain the existing roof and arches, but to tone these down with colour-wash to harmonise with the red sand-stone, and to remove the military white-wash from the columns. The floor of modern bricks, which hid the lower base mouldings of the columns, was removed, disclosing the old *lakhauri* brick flooring, which has now been repaired and relaid in

places. As an architectural monument of the beginning of S͟hāh-jahān's reign the Dīwān-i-'āmm in its present dilapidated condition is certainly disappointing, but its many historical associations invest it with unusual interest. Some of these may here find a place.

Al Badāonī refers to the Hall of Public Audience (in his time the open court-yard only) being gorgeously decorated on the occasion of the new year's day (29th December 1587 A.D.) which was celebrated by the great Akbar with much pomp. The historian mentions 114 bays (*aiwān*), splendidly draped, and this number closely corresponds to the number of bays indicated on the old plan showing the Fort during the Sikh regime.[1]

Manucci tells an amusing anecdote of the easy-going Jahāngīr who preferred to enjoy the good things of this world rather than to live up to the strict tenets of the Muhammadan religion. The story bears on the Dīwān-i-'āmm. Having acquired a taste for pork and wine from a visit to the house of the Jesuit fathers, he ate it publicly and frequently to the great dismay of the pious Muhammadans of his court, who explained to him that such meat and drink were forbidden by the Qurān. He enquired which religions permitted the drinking of wine and eating of pork at the same time, and was informed that only Christians were allowed this liberty. He then said he would become a Christian, sent for tailors to cut out European clothes, and ordered a search to be made for hats. The learned Muhammadans, Manucci goes on to say, thereupon took counsel together and said the king might eat and drink whatever he liked. This submissive answer did not give the Emperor the desired opportunity to aggravate them, so he ordered the casting of several pigs of solid gold, which he kept in the palace. When he awoke from sleep, he said he would rather see these pigs than the face of a Muhammadan. S͟hāh-jahān had them buried in front of the royal seat (the *jharōkā*?) in the fortress of Lahore. "Many a time," Manucci adds, "I sat there with the governor of the fortress. He used to say to me that if he had the wealth then beneath his body he would be a very rich man."[2] Unfortunately none of these gold pigs came to light in the recent conservation work. Such valuable corpses would not long be left in peace.

Manucci relates in another passage how after the battle of Samūgarh he rejoined Prince Dārā Shukōh at Lahore and found him in the Palace, probably in the Dīwān-i-'āmm. "There I arrived," he says, "at four o'clock in the afternoon, when Prince Dārā was actually seated giving audience. Quitting the cart, I threw my small wallet across my shoulder, and taking in my hands my bow and seven arrows, I entered the palace. When my commander Barcandas Can (Barqandāz K͟hān) saw me he advanced to greet me, and after embracing me with great affection, he led me joyfully to the presence of the prince, just as I was. There I performed the usual obeisances, and he (Dārā) with exceeding gladness exclaimed in a loud voice "Xabas"! Xabas!" (*S͟hābās͟h*! *S͟hābās͟h*!) that is to say, "Bravo! Bravo!" His eyes brimming over with tears, he turned to his officers and said in a troubled tone: 'See, you others, the fidelity of this European Farangī lad, who, although neither of my religion nor of my race, nor for long an eater of my salt, having only entered my service when these

[1] *A. S. R.* for 1902-03, Calcutta, 1904, pp. 218 ff

[2] Niccolao Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. I, p. 150

wars began, came after me with such loyalty through the midst of such dangers; while those maintained by me for so long, and getting immense payments, with base ingratitude and utter disloyalty abandoned me when I had need of them, just as you others have seen.'"[1]

It is uncertain whether in the days of Ranjit Singh, the Dīwān-i-ʻāmm again fulfilled its original purpose, namely that of an audience hall, its official designation having been changed to *Takht* or "Throne." It would appear from Honigberger's[2] account that after the Maharaja's death his body lay in state in the audience hall whence it was carried outside the Fort to be cremated on the spot now marked by Ranjit Singh's *Samādh*.

The series of twelve rooms at the back of the Audience Hall has nothing particular to recommend it. They are treated with marble dados and stucco frescoes, but the original Mughal decoration has been replastered and repainted during the Sikh period. In this building took place the murder of Chēt Singh, the rival of the Minister Dhyān Singh. The scene, which was witnessed and described in all its gruesome details by Colonel Gardner[3], adds to the romantic associations which surround the Dīwān-i-ʻāmm. "Without uttering a whisper," Gardner says, "we stealthily crept our way in the dark up a flight of stairs, over a place called the 'Badshah-i-Takht' [The Imperial Throne, *i.e.*, the *jharōkā* of the Dīwān-i-ʻāmm], and thence to the immediate vicinity of the royal apartment. …………Two torches had to be lit, and on entering the room where we expected to find the Minister it appeared to be empty; it was very long and narrow. Lal Singh, however, called out that he saw the glitter of a sword in one corner, and there cowered the wretched man, his hand upon his sword." Then followed the murder, the commencement of a period of anarchy and disorder, which resulted in the annexation of the Punjab by the British.

GORDON SANDERSON.

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[1] Niccolao Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. I, p 309.

[2] *Früchte aus dem Morgenlande*, Wien 1851, pp. 110 ff.

[3] *Soldier and Traveller, Memoirs of Alexander Gardner*, edited by Major Hugh Pearse, Edinburgh and London, 1898, pp. 219 ff.

EXPLORATION AND RESEARCH.

THE most important work of research carried out in 1909-10 was undoubtedly Mr. Marshall's excavation at Bhīṭā near Allahabad, a preliminary note on which has appeared in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.[1] As Mr. Marshall proceeded on leave at the end of the cold season in which these explorations took place, a detailed account is not yet available for publication in the present Annual, but will, it is hoped, appear in the next volume. The special interest attaching to the Bhīṭā excavations lies in the circumstance that they constitute the first serious effort to explore the remains of an ancient Indian town. It is true that the town which once stood on this site (its name apparently was *Vichhī* or *Vichhī-grāma*) was only a small country-town, and on that account no startling finds of great historical interest were to be expected. Yet Mr. Marshall's excavations have thrown considerable light on the ordinary domestic architecture and on certain aspects of domestic life in ancient India. The results achieved are, therefore, of special interest in that they supplement the information derived from literary sources. As an instance I may mention that among the Bhīṭā finds there are several specimens of toy-tricyles of baked clay. It is from such an humble object that one of the most famous plays of ancient Indian literature, the *Mṛichchhakaṭikā* or "Little Clay Cart" received its title.[2] The beautiful terra-cotta medallion found by Mr. Marshall in the house of the banker Jayavasuda and produced along with his preliminary note, reminds us of a scene from a not less famous Indian drama, the *Śakuntalā*. In the two men on the quadriga in the centre of the medallion we may perhaps see king Dushyanta and his charioteer who are being entreated by a hermit not to kill the antelope which has taken a refuge in Kaṇva's hermitage. We note, also, the hermit's hut and, in front of it, a girl watering the trees in which we may recognise Śakuntalā, the heroine of the play. The medallion, which must belong to the Śuṅga period, is no doubt much anterior to Kālidāsa, but it is well known that the subject of that author's most famous play was not invented by him. It forms an episode in the first book of the Mahābhārata, but it must be admitted that

[1] *J. R. A. S.* for 1911, pp. 127 ff.

[2] The *Mṛichchhakaṭikā* has been rendered in almost every language of Europe. It was translated into English by H. H. Wilson (*Theatre of the Hindus*, Vol. I) and by Dr. A. W. Ryder (*Harvard Oriental Series*, Vol. IX) and into German among others by Otto von Böhtlingk, and by Ludwig Fritze. The passage regarding the little clay cart occurs in the 6th Act. Wilson, *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 206; Ryder's translation, pp. 94 ff.

the details of the terra-cotta agree with the dramatic and not with the epical version of the story and, on that account, the identification cannot be regarded as certain.

Inscribed seals and sealings, mostly of clay, were found in considerable number, and some of these have enabled Mr. Marshall to name the various houses after their former occupants. Though these persons were only simple burghers of a country town (as indeed was the case with most of the house-holders of Pompeii), their names add a certain amount of human interest to the houses in which they once lived their humble life and to the implements which they once used in their daily occupations. As regards the general plan of the houses, they all consist of a central courtyard enclosed by a row of rooms on the four sides. Hence the Sanskrit term *chatuḥśāla*, meaning "a building of four halls (*śālā*)." It will be noticed that the plan of the Buddhist convent was developed out of that of the simple dwelling house, and again a later development is the Karavansarai of the Muhammadan period.[1] Among the minor antiquities found in the Bhīṭā excavations there are several hundred terra-cotta figurines of men, women, and children, which range in date from the 4th to the 6th century A.D.[2] "Apart from their artistic interest," Mr. Marshall writes, "these figurines are valuable for the information they furnish as to the fashions in vogue during the Gupta period. Thus the modes of dressing the hair were as numerous then as they are among women to-day, and perhaps even more startling. The men, certainly, must have been foppish to a degree, with their long curls falling loose on one side only, or elaborated like a full Georgian wig, or coiffured with jewels in the Antoinette manner, or arranged more severely in the regal style of Persia."

Here again we are reminded of an interesting literary parallel. When in the 9th Act of the *Mṛichchhakaṭikā the foolish brother-in-law of the king enters the* Court of Justice to accuse the noble Chārudatta, he refers to his own elegant appearance in the following words [3]:—

"I bathed where water runs and flows and purls;
I shat within a garden, park, and grove
With women, and with females, and with girls,
Whose lovely limbs with grace angelic move,
My hair is shome times done up tight, you shee;
In locks, or curls, it hangs my forehead o'er;
Shometimes 't is matted, shometimes hanging free;
And then again I wear a pompadour.
I am a wonder, I'm a wondrous thing,
And the husband of my shister is the king."

[1] M. Foucher (*Art gréco-bouddhique* I, 147) in dealing with the *saṅghārāma*, remarks: "Partout et toujours nous reconnaissons, à un ou plusieurs exemplaires, le même groupe architectural, formé de quatre corps de bâtiments se rejoignant à angle droit et s'ouvrant exclusivement sur une cour intérieure. Tel est, peut-on dire, dans l'Inde, le type classique de la résidence; imitation du vieux *catuḥçāla*, il est resté le modèle des caravansérais bâtis par les empereurs mogols."

In *Rājat.* 3, 13 mention is made of the foundation of a "Vihāra together with a quadrangle" (*Vihāraṁ sa-chatuḥśālaṁ*).

[2] All the antiquities unearthed have been deposited in the Indian Museum at Calcutta.

[3] Dr. Ryder, whose translation I quote (p. 132), imitates the most striking peculiarity of Saṁsthānaka's *patois*—his substitution of ś for s. *Cf.* Wilson, *Theatre of the Hindus*, Vol. I, p. 143.

One of the most interesting results of the Bhīṭā excavations relates to the use of bricks. I quote the following from Mr. Marshall's preliminary note :—

"None of the brick buildings that have been excavated on this site can, in my opinion, be assigned to an earlier date than the 4th century B.C., and there seems little chance of finding older ones here, though kiln-burnt bricks seem to have been in use on this site for about a century before that. Several broad trial trenches were sunk deep below the Mauryan level, but in every case the brick débris terminated within a few feet of the Mauryan buildings, though the deposits beneath extended down for 20 feet and more, before virgin soil was reached. I do not regard this as proof that the use of bricks was unknown in India before the 5th century B.C. It may well be that up to that time Bhīṭā had been occupied by an unimportant village, the houses of which would naturally have been of mud, as they still are in the India of to-day. My excavation of a portion of the city wall proves that it was built of brick, for the first time, in the Mauryan epoch, and it can reasonably be supposed that the place was then growing in importance, and that the erection of the city wall marks, in fact, the conversion of the village into a town. On the other hand, it may be that kiln-burnt bricks were, in fact, unknown in this part of India before the 5th century B.C., and in that case it is quite possible that the town was originally defended, like the city of Pāṭaliputra, by a wooden wall. The total absence of bricks in the lower strata certainly tallies well with the testimony of Megasthenes about the fortifications of Chandragupta's capital [1]; but the question is one which cannot be settled until some more important city sites have been examined.

"In spite, however, of the absence of *pakka* buildings my excavation of the lower strata was not without interesting results. Thus concrete was found in use for flooring at least as far back as the 7th century B.C.; while another kind of pavement, which fell into disuse here after the introduction of kiln-burnt bricks, was composed of a thick layer of clay mixed with broken potsherds, the whole being afterwards burnt *in situ*, so as to form one unbroken slab of terra-cotta. Wheel-made pottery occurred in the earliest deposits of all, which can hardly be placed later than 1,200 B.C., and may be considerably earlier; and a fine black lustre ware with highly burnished surface was found, in company with rough terra-cotta figures, in deposits of the 7th or 8th century B.C. onwards."

The results obtained on a second-rate site like Bhīṭā give some idea of what we may expect when the systematic exploration of the large cities of Takshaśilā (Taxila), Pāṭaliputra and Vidiśā comes to be taken in hand.

In the Frontier Province Dr. Spooner turned his attention again to the site of Sahri-Bahlol, which in 1906-07 had yielded such a wealth of sculpture. The mound selected this time for exploration proved no less productive. Some two hundred pieces of sculpture came to light. These have now been added to the Peshāwar Museum which bids fair to become the first depository of Gandhāra art. As Dr. Spooner went on leave shortly after the end of his excavations and on his return was transferred to the Eastern Circle, he missed the opportunity for a close study of his numerous finds. His paper, however, published in the present volume with numerous illustrations will convey an idea of the artistic and religious interest attaching to this new Sahri-Bahlol collection. Besides some very fine Buddha and Bōdhisattva images, it contains a large number of bas-reliefs, including several subjects not yet found in Græco-Buddhist art. Among the latter I may mention particularly a very fine representation of the conversion of Aṅgulimāla or "Finger-garland," the robber of Śrāvastī, who according to the legend told by Hiuen Tsiang, used to wear a garland made of the fingers of his victims.

[1] Arrian, it will be remembered, states (Chapter X) that cities situated on the banks of rivers or on the sea coast were built of wood, while those in higher and dryer situations were built of brick and mud.

I would further remark on a number of elongated panels[1] which seem to refer to *jātakas*, or stories of Buddha's previous existences. They have so far only partially been identified, but one series certainly illustrates the story of 'the Merchant who kicked his mother,' a tale primarily intended to exemplify the doctrine of *karma*. It occurs also among the sculptures on the Borobudur of Java.[2] It is curious that on the Sahri-Bahlol sculptures Maitrakanyaka, the hero of the story, is shown travelling on horseback, his merchandise being loaded on a Bactrian camel, a horse and a bullock. The sculptor evidently adapted these details to his environments. The discovery of these panels indicates that *jātaka* scenes were as favoured a subject with the sculptors of Gandhāra as with their brethren of Central India and Mathurā. It is curious that in later Buddhist sculpture hardly any *jātakas* are found, at least in India proper, whereas they blossom forth again in the Hindu art of Java and on the monuments of Pagān, the ancient capital of Burma.

Dr. Spooner's finds include a very remarkable female statue holding in both hands a little shrine, apparently meant to contain some precious object, and a head with so striking a profile that it can be hardly anything but a portrait. It will be seen from Dr. Spooner's paper that the head appears to have belonged to a statue which formed the counterpart of the female image, and that, in his opinion, both represented the princely donors of the sanctuary, in the ruins of which they came to light. This interpretation seems perfectly plausible, but I very much doubt whether sculptures of such a pronounced classical style can have belonged to so late a period as the reign of king Huvishka, whose effigy Dr. Spooner wants us to recognise in the portrait head. Indeed, a comparison of this head with Huvishka's coinage, on which Dr. Spooner bases his theory, seems to me to afford strong evidence against the proposed identification. It is true that in the course of the Sahri-Bahlol excavation a Sassanian silver coin was found which has been assigned to as late a period as the 4th century A.D. It is evident, however, that on a single coin no conclusion can be based with regard to the date of the buildings in the ruins of which it was found.

In connection with the study of the Græco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra, that of the closely allied Mathurā school affords important data. In the course of the year, Pandit Radha Krishna, the Honorary Assistant-Curator of the Mathurā museum, has again added a considerable number of sculptures and inscriptions to the collection in his charge. These will be discussed by me in a special article in the present volume. Here it will suffice to say that the finds in question confirm our previous conclusions with regard to the date of the Mathurā school. It was particularly in the Kushāṇ period that this school flourished. One of the new acquisitions is an inscribed statuette of a male in Scythian dress which probably represents a donor.[3] The inscriptions, mostly in the Brāhmī script of the Kushāṇ variety, point to the same conclusion. It deserves notice that among the nine newly recovered epigraphs of the Kushāṇ period, no less than six may be assigned to the reign of Huvishka, and three of these actually contain his name. We are,

[1] *Cf.* similar panels reproduced by Dr. Burgess, *J. I. A. I.*, Vol. VIII, plates 23 and 24, which have been partly identified. *Vide* Foucher, *Art gréco-bouddhique*, pp. 280 ff.

[2] *Cf.* Foucher *Le stūpa de Boro-budur* in *B. E. F. E. O.*, Vol. IX (1909), pp. 35 ff., where references to literary sources are quoted.

[3] See Mr. Marshall's article in *J. R. A. S.* for 1909-10, pp. 152 ff., plate VIII, fig. 2.

therefore, perhaps justified in identifying the palmy days of the Mathurā school in particular with the reign of that monarch.

Mr. Cousens has contributed to the present Annual a detailed account of his exploration of the Buddhist *stūpa* of Mīrpur-Khās in Sind, which, as far as I know, is the first ancient monument of the kind systematically excavated in that province. Mr. Cousens' researches resulted in the discovery of a deposit of relics which, however, were not accompanied by any data relating to the age of the building. For the dating of the Mīrpur-Khās *stūpa* our safest guide is the style of the terra-cotta Buddha figures with which it was found adorned. The curious circumstance that the plinth was encased, apparently very shortly after the completion of the monument, renders it practically certain that those terra-cotta panels are not later additions. Their most striking feature are the elaborately sculptured haloes. We know that such haloes are peculiar to stone images of the Gupta epoch and we may, therefore, attribute the terra-cottas to the 4th, 5th or 6th century. Mr. Cousens arrives at a somewhat earlier date. In his opinion, the *stūpa* of Mīrpur-Khās cannot be ascribed to a later date than A.D. 400 and is possibly even earlier.

Whether there has existed an earlier structure on the spot is, as Mr. Cousens rightly remarks, a matter of surmise. There is no indication as to the origin of the relics found in the *stūpa*. All we can say is that, in all probability, the builders of the monument regarded them as corporeal remains of either the Buddha himself or of one of the early *Arhats* of the Buddhist Church.

The Mīrpur-Khās *stūpa* remained a place of worship down to the early Arab invasion in Sind (A.D. 715), as is evident from the occurrence of inscribed tablets of the well known type assignable to the 7th or 8th century and from Arab coins found together with them in the débris. So here, as elsewhere in India, it appears to have been the Moslem occupation which made an end of Buddhism.

Mr. Cousens, on the strength of a passage in the Mujmal-at-tawārīkh quoted by General M. R. Haig, conjectures that the existence of Buddhist monuments in Sind may be due to an invasion in that country by a king of Kashmīr. Even if this invasion could be proved to be a historical fact, the proposed explanation does not seem to me to be very plausible. Buddhism, no doubt, flourished in Kashmīr under the powerful patronage of the Kushāṇ kings[1], but there is no evidence that the later rulers of Kashmīr were particularly partial to that religion. Besides, military expeditions are in their character more destructive than constructive.

Would it not be a more natural assumption that Buddhism spread over Sind from Gandhāra which, as we know, was a great centre of that faith in the early centuries of the Christian era? We can point to a link in the *stūpa* of Suë Vihār in the Bahāwalpur State, the foundation of which, as recorded on a copper-plate, took place in the 11th year of the reign of Kānishka.[2] This would account for the close relationship, noted by Mr. Cousens, between certain decorative devices found on the Buddhist monuments of Sind and on those of Gandhāra.

[1] *Rājataraṅgiṇī* I, 168-17; transl. Stein, Vol. I, pp. 30 ff.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 326.

It is a matter of sincere regret that the article on the *stūpa* of Mīrpur-Khās, which I have here summarized, will in all probability be the last contribution from Mr. Cousens' pen to the Annual Reports of the Department, owing to that officer's impending retirement from the Government service. His accurate and always perfectly illustrated accounts will be sorely missed. Another constant collaborator has been removed from our pages by a sadder fate—Dr. Theodor Bloch whose death occurred at Calcutta on the 20th October 1909. His papers regularly published in the Archæological Annual since it was initiated, bear testimony to his wide knowledge and fine scholarship.

The present Annual contains one article by a contributor not belonging to the Archæological Department, and it is to this article that I wish to call special attention on account of its exceptional interest. Thanks to Mr. Marshall's strong recommendations, it was arranged with the Moravian Mission Board that the services of the Rev. Mr. (now Dr.) A. H. Francke, the well known Tibetan scholar, should be placed at the disposal of the Government of India for a special tour of archæological research in the mountain tracts of the Panjāb and Kashmīr bordering on Tibet. The proposed expedition was attended with grave risks owing to the very difficult nature of the country to be traversed. Mr. Francke, however, was singularly fitted for the task both through his knowledge of Tibetan and his intimate acquaintance with Ladakh and Lahul where he had already spent many years both in missionary work and scientific research. The main results of his tour, which in due course will be published separately, have here been very briefly summarized, and although this summary largely deals with inscriptions, it has been given a place in the present section. Any further comment on Mr. Francke's work is superfluous, but I wish to take the opportunity to record our great indebtedness to the Moravian Mission Board for having lent us his invaluable services.

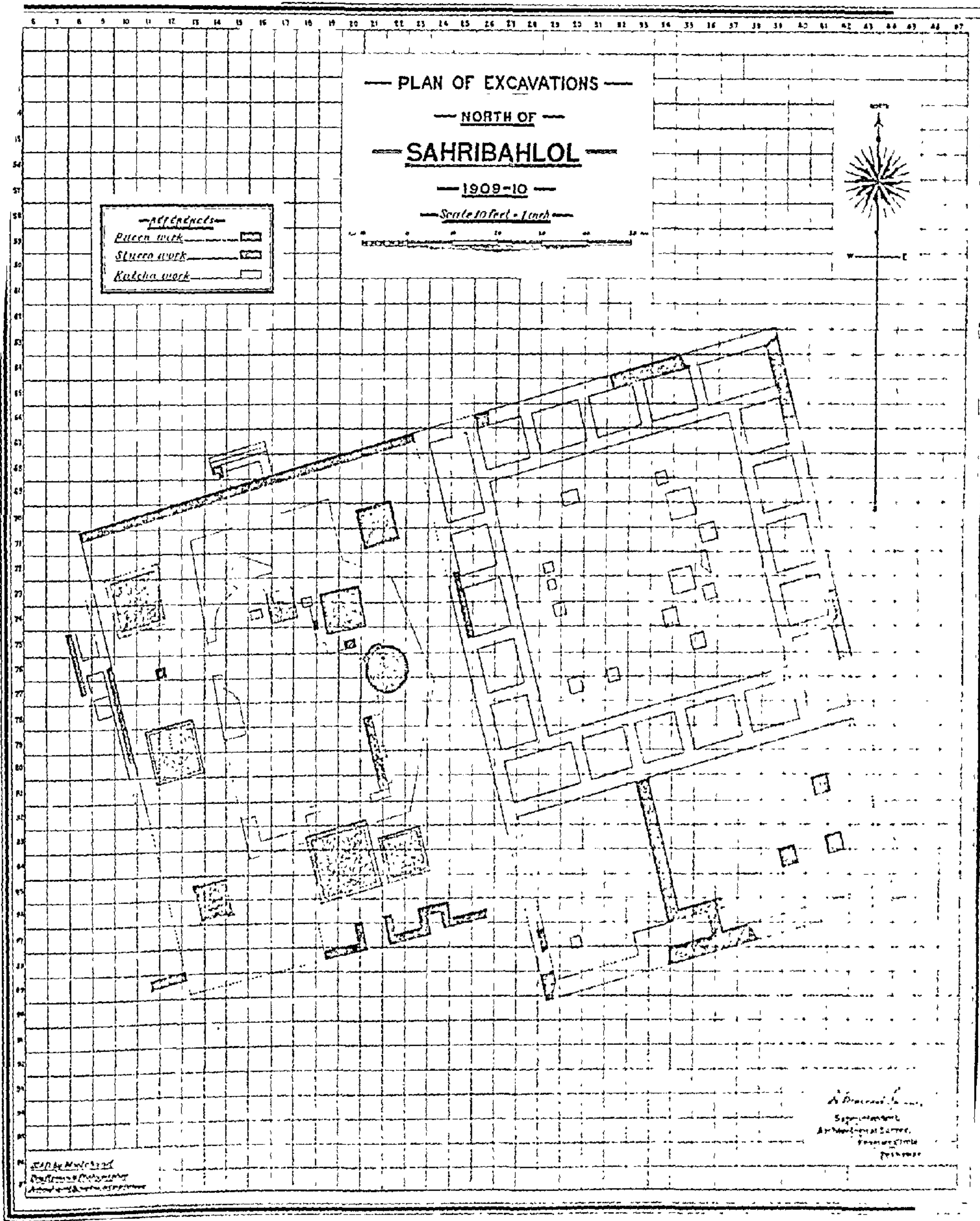
J. PH. VOGEL.

EXCAVATIONS AT SAHRIBAHLOL.[1]

WHEN it became evident that further work at Shāh-jī-kī-Ḍhērī was impossible for the present, owing to the attitude of the owner of the land, I decided to return to Sahribahlol and explore another of the many mounds in that vicinity. The one selected (numbered 1066 in the general plan of the environs of Sahribahlol made for the Peshāwar office through the generosity of the Director General of Archæology, and now published for the first time, *vide* Plate XII), was a fairly large tumulus measuring 250 feet in diameter and situated about half a mile to the north-west of the village. In form it was nearly round, with a maximum height of some ten or twelve feet above the plain, and save for two deep pits on the northern edge it appeared to be intact. No walls were visible anywhere, nor were there any surface indications as to the position of the monuments underground. Their nature, however, was sufficiently indicated by the stones with which the top of the mound was strewn, among which a considerable number of sculptural fragments were noticeable. Assuming, therefore, that the mound covered the ruins of some *stūpa*, with or without a monastery attached, and desiring first of all to determine in which part of the site the monastic quadrangle had lain, supposing one to have existed, I led two trenches through the mound at right angles to each other, which enabled me after a few days to form a judgment as to the general plan of the site as a whole.

These original trenches were not carried down to any considerable depth, for it very soon became noticeable that, as we left the surface, stone fragments became increasingly numerous on the west, while in the eastern portion of the mound they almost disappeared. The inference was therefore easy that such *stūpas* or other religious structures as had existed at this site lay to the west, while the eastern side had been occupied by a monastic quadrangle whose walls were for the most part *kaccha*. On this assumption the further deepening of our original trenches on the

[1] The fact of my transfer to the Eastern Circle on my return from leave in 1910 having prevented my revisiting Sahribahlol since my Annual Report for the Frontier Circle for 1909-10 was written, the first portion of this paper is perforce merely a reprint of the account there given.


— PLAN OF EXCAVATIONS —
— NORTH OF —
— SAHRIBAHLOL —
— 1909-10 —
— Scale 10 feet = 1 inch —
Pucca work
Stucco work
Kutcha work
W
E

north and east was abandoned, and our attention concentrated on clearing, first of all, the western side of the mound.

Here the first definite building that was met with was the round *stūpa* base shown at the point 22-76 on the site plan published with this paper (Plate XIII), and against this as a background a headless and otherwise damaged figure of a seated Buddha was found still *in situ*. A further seated Buddha, still in its original position, was found south of this round *stūpa* at the point 21-80 on the plan, but the wall against which this must have been placed, apparently that of the main structure at this site, had entirely disappeared save for its veriest foundation; and even this is traceable only on the eastern side. Originally there appears to have been a square building here, of which this was the eastern face, and the seated Buddha found at this spot, as well as a seated Bōdhisattva *in situ* on the south (Plate XIX, fig. *a*) points to the conclusion that it was once richly decorated with sculptures. But although a substantial stone foundation had been laid for this building, which is traceable to the west of this eastern wall, the further outline of the building could not be followed, and it appears probable that the walls themselves were *kaccha*, with merely a stone base covered with plaster, as is the case with the only portion now remaining. It is, therefore, difficult to determine the exact nature of this structure, but the comparative strength and solidity of the foundations suggest that the building was a fairly high and heavy one; and the large number of sculptural finds made in the débris at this point would seem to signify that here was the main monument of this community. If this is so, it is perhaps singular that the main structure should have been built of more perishable materials than some of the minor ones for, as can be seen from the plan, other buildings were found which were comparatively well preserved in parts, but it is worthy of notice that precisely the same phenomenon was observable in the other mound, south of Sahribahlol, which was excavated in 1907.[1]

The square stucco platforms at 11-73, 12-80, 14-86, 20-84 and 22-84 on the site-plan appear to be the remains of similar structures on a smaller scale. Numberless sculptural fragments, in both stone and stucco, were found in connection with them, but as a rule these were not of such importance as those associated with what must have been the principal monument, and it is furthermore noticeable that this latter rises from a well-laid stone pavement, whereas the others are all of them off this pavement, and therefore outside the main centre of the site. In no place do the traceable remains of these minor buildings rise to a height of more than 6 or 7 inches. But their nature as religious structures (whether temples or *stūpas* one cannot be certain) is definitely assured by the little seated Buddha figures which are found in the centre of each of the four sides, wherever anything of the wall has been preserved at this point.

Another building rising from the main stone pavement and considerably better preserved than those discussed above is the square *stūpa* at 20-74 on the site-plan, only a few feet to the north-west of the round *stūpa* which was the first to be found. This is very solidly constructed of stone faced with stucco, and must originally have

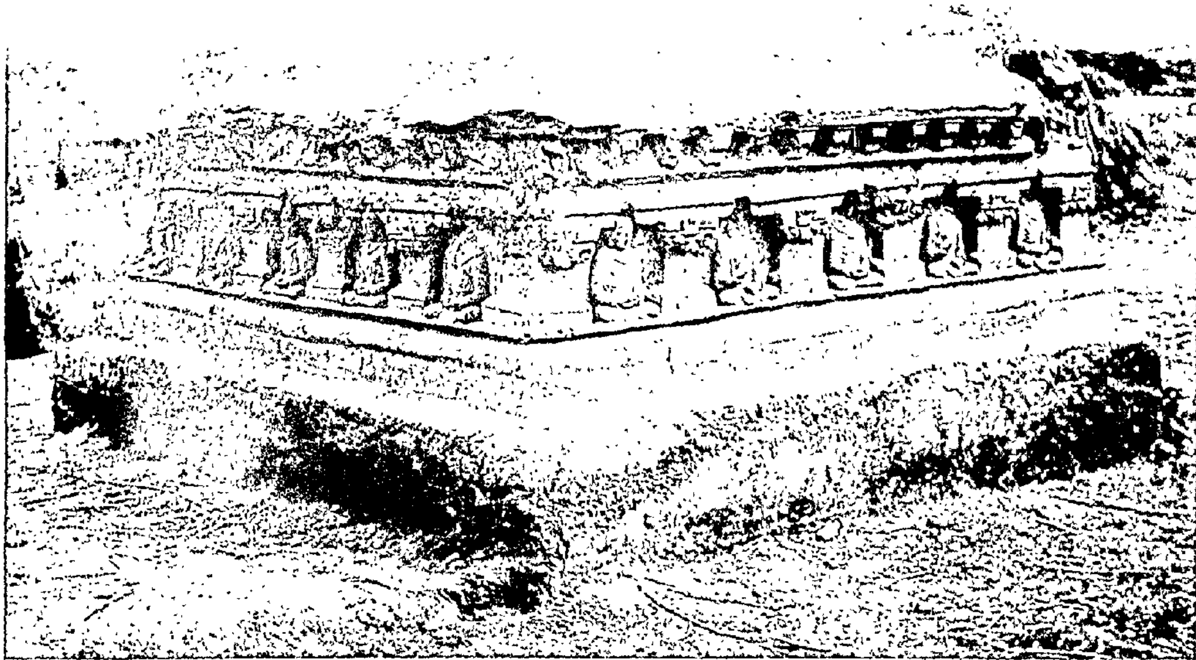
[1] The mound excavated in 1907 is numbered 1100 on the general plan. It has never hitherto been possible to record its exact position relative to the village, in the absence of a large scale map of the locality, but such record is of importance, as excavated sites in [illegible]

been a highly ornamental building. On its south face portions of a large and very elaborate sculpture were found *in situ*, shown in Plate XIX, fig. *b*, and also the bases of other stone sculptures with which the *stūpa* was originally decorated; while the eastern face shows a frieze of Buddha figures in stucco, between Corinthian pilasters, surmounted by a cornice, above which ran yet another stucco frieze representing apparently legendary scenes from the life of the Buddha, on a scale quite exceptional for a building of such small dimensions. Of this second and more important frieze, no trace of which remains on the other three sides, only three figures are preserved on the eastern face near the south-east corner of the monument. Of these the largest is a sadly damaged figure of the Buddha, standing, and apparently turned to the left in the direction of two children whose figures are better preserved, although one of them is headless. The one nearest the Buddha is seated on the ground while the other, who is nude, is standing at the extreme left of the composition. It seems probable, therefore, that the scene intended is the child's offering of the Handful of Dust, but certainty is hardly possible in the present condition of the monument. At all events, enough is left to prove that the decoration in stucco on this *stūpa* was of an exceptional and highly interesting nature, and it is much to be deplored that so large a proportion of it has perished.

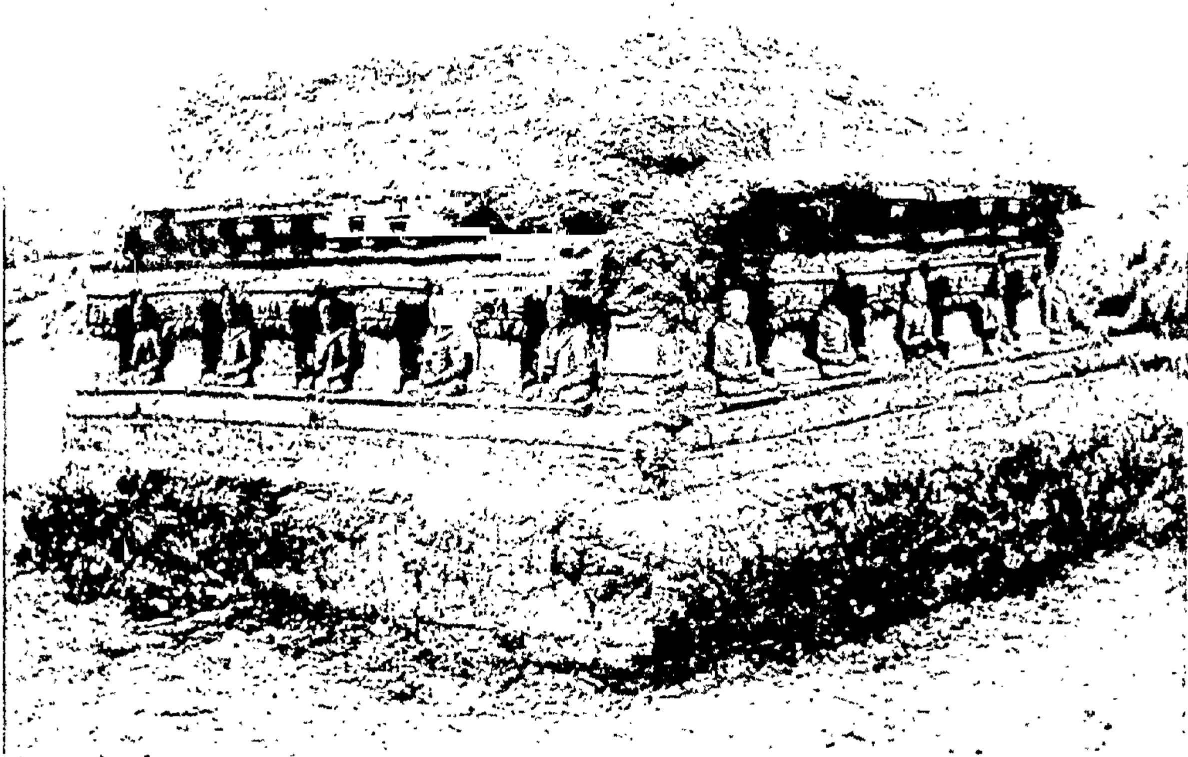
A further point of interest in regard to this *stūpa* is that facing the centre of its southern side is a large stone pedestal of some standing Buddha figure, whose feet are turned towards the *stūpa* itself, while on the west occurs a second pedestal where the feet are turned to the east. Both sculptures must, therefore, have faced the *stūpa* itself, but the reason for this is not quite clear, since the space between these pedestals and the *stūpa* is barely sufficient for a man to pass. A third pedestal, or rather in this case, a structural socket for a pedestal, was found to the west of the small and damaged platform apparently representing another *stūpa* closely adjoining the former on the north-west, and a fourth must have been placed at a corresponding point on the east of this building, as is inferable from the fact that it was at these points that we found the colossal Buddha figures to be mentioned later (See Plate XXII, figs. *b* and *c*). But from the position in which these figures were lying it is evident that they faced the north, so that here they cannot have been turned towards the monument by which they stood. This seems a much more natural arrangement, but the fact remains indisputable that in the other cases the pedestals face toward the *stūpa*.

The only remaining building of importance in the western portion of the site lies beyond the edge of the stone pavement, and is a small square *stūpa*-base of massive construction and well-preserved (*Cf.* Plate XIV, figs. *a* and *b*). As usual this is faced with stucco, and is ornamented with a frieze of five seated Buddha figures on each side between Corinthian pilasters, all coloured red, and surmounted by a modillion cornice. But the general design of this decoration is familiar, and the friezes call for no special comment, beyond observing that attention appears to have been given to varying the postures of the hands, figures showing the attitude of meditation where the hands lie one above the other in the lap, alternating regularly on two sides with those where the right arm is bent at the elbow and portrayed as wrapped in the garment.

It also should be added that all these *stūpas* were opened and examined down to



a.



a level well below their foundations, but nothing of any significance was found except one small copper coin too badly corroded for identification.

The monastic quadrangle as such presents no new features of importance, and yielded little beyond one remarkably fine stone lamp of large size (fig. 1) and a considerable number of inscribed pottery fragments. The various minor structures shown in the plan as occurring in the centre of the quadrangle admit of no certain explanation. Some of them show so close an approach to alignment that one would like to explain them as the bases of pillars supporting a verandah around the inner face of the cubicles, but unfortunately the only structural portion in most cases is so far above the apparent level of the floor as to make this interpretation doubtful.



Fig. 1. Stone lamp; 17" by 4½".

To the south of the main quadrangle containing the chambers of the monks, two large rooms were found, of which one was presumably the hall of conference for the little community of *bhikshus*. It was in the western one of these that the majority of the pottery fragments were found, but these were too badly broken for any definite conclusions. The word *parigrahe* occurs on two potsherds, but this, which is a familiar word in donative formulæ, merely means "for the acceptance of" and, therefore, sheds no light on the identity of the monastery.

For the following notes on the coins recovered in the course of the excavations I am indebted to Professor Rapson and Mr. Hargreaves, to the latter of whom fell the task of cleaning the finds, as opportunity for this work had not offered previously. Professor Rapson I consulted in regard to a Sassanian silver coin which we could not trace in India, and it is to his courtesy that I owe the following interesting note. Professor Rapson writes:—

"It is a most interesting specimen. So far as I know, it is an unpublished variety. It is Sassanian in type and fabric, but it bears an inscription which shows that it was struck by the Kidāra or Little Kushanas (*vide* my *Indian Coins*, p. 19, § 76). I should describe it as follows:—

"*Obverse.*—Bust of King r. (apparently imitated from the coins of the Sassanian King Shapur II, A.D. 310—380). In front of face, inscription in Gupta characters=*Kidāra Kushaṇa-shā[hi]*."

"*Reverse* Sassanian fire-altar with attendants; in exergue, date illegible (traces of three characters).

"Although this variety seems to be new, it resembles in regard to certain features two known varieties;

"(1) in regard to the inscription and the date, cf. Cunningham, *Num. Chron.* 1893, p. 199, Pl. XV (VI), Nos. 1 and 2. The inscription seems to be almost the same as on this specimen, except that it appears to be proceeded by *śrī*, of which I can see no traces here. The date *may* be the same Cunningham supposed it to be =339, and suggested that it might be Śaka = A.D. 417. I confess that I am not satisfied that this reading is correct. The numerals appears to me to be [illegible] The decimal figure seems certain =30: the unit may=9: but to my eyes the first numeral seems doubtful—?=100.

"(2) in regard to the portrait, cf. Cunningham, *Num. Chron.* 1894, p. 276, Pl. IX (VII), Nos. 1 and 2. No. 1 is probably imitated, like this specimen, from a coin of Shahpur II, No. 2 from one

of Varahran IV (A.D. 389—399). These coins which bear inscriptions in corrupt Greek characters are attributed by Cunningham to the White Huns."

I am indebted to Mr. H. Hargreaves for the following note on the remaining coins found at Sahribahlol:

"In all 67 copper coins were cleaned, but of these 63 were so badly corroded that neither figures nor legends were traceable on any of them.

"Three, however, bear traces of the long skirted figure so characteristic of the Kushāṇ kings, but not a single specimen can, with any certainty, be assigned to a particular ruler.

"One copper coin, in good condition, of Soter Megas was also recovered and one silver coin of the Sassanian King Varahān II.

"This last is quite independent of the Sassanian coin identified by Professor Rapson in his letter dated 22nd September 1910.

"I attach a detailed account of the two legible coins.

I.—SASSANIAN COIN, SILVER.

Obverse.—Bust of King to right. Curved plume behind head-dress. Seeming legend on right edge which is probably Varahān.

Reverse.—Fire-altar with two attendants. The Reverse is much worn.

References.—(*a*) Wilson. *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 398, plate XVI, fig. 13.
(*b*) Smith. *Cat. of Coins. I. M.* p. 225, No. 12 (3).

II—COPPER COIN. SOTER MEGAS.

Obverse.—Bust of King right, radiate ; lance with streamers in right hand, behind [monogram]

Reverse.—ΒΑCΙΛΕVC ΒΑCΙΛΕVWΝ CWTHP M............Poor Script. King right on horseback with sceptre (?) : behind head two streamers.

A better specimen than in the B. M. Catalogue.

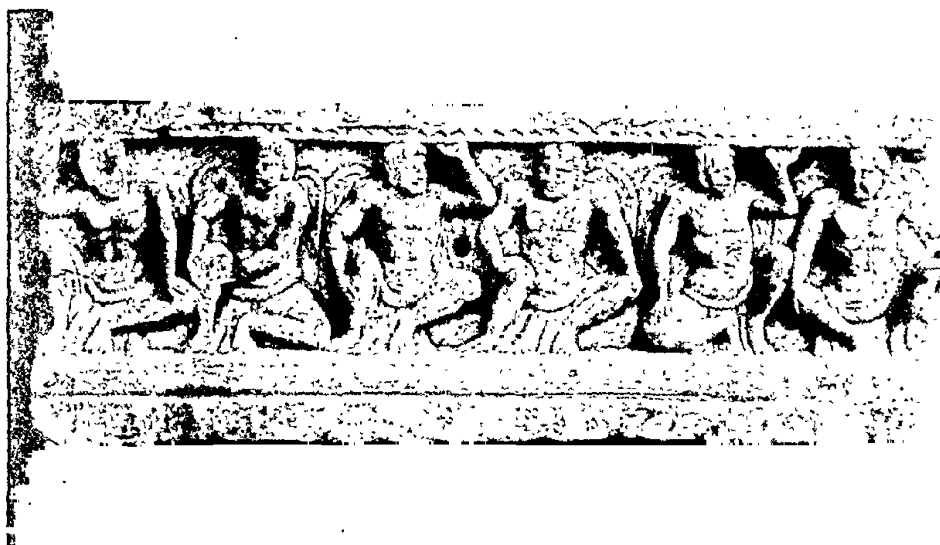
Reference.—The monogram seems to have *four* lines, not three as usual [monogram] *Gardner p. 114 No. 2.*

Turning now to the sculptural finds of the season, it may safely be affirmed that in their variety, their extent and their relatively good state of preservation, they constitute an important addition to our material for the study of the school. Whatever Sahribahlol may have been in ancient times, it was certainly a most important centre of the Buddhist cult, and each fresh excavation tends only to increase our wonder at the immense wealth of sculpture accumulated here, and our regret that the identity of the site remains undetermined.

It is intended to deal with these fragments, the majority of which appear to date from the mid-Gandhāra period, in as orderly a sequence as the subject permits, and a beginning will accordingly be made with decorative reliefs. As can be seen from Plate No. XV, the collection includes some of very admirable workmanship, and a few of novel design. Even the well-known motif of Erotes carrying a long serpentine garland presents here a new feature in that the alternate figures wear each a long coat falling to the knee, which gives one the impression that the sculpture marks an incipient protest against the traditional nudity of even these childish figures, in other words, that this type is intermediate between the usual Gandhāra style where the Erotes are nude, and the later Mathurā type, where, as Dr. Vogel shows, they are regularly draped. But it would be unwise to base any far-reaching



a.



b.



c.



d

conclusions on such slight evidence, and against the probability of such significance attaching to this detail is the fact that in spiritedness of attitude as well as in delicacy of execution, this relief is certainly not to be relegated to any period of advanced decadence, or of far departure from the Hellenistic prototype. Indeed the non-Indian nature of several of the decorative panels recovered this year would seem to indicate definitely that chronologically the site is a truly ancient one, which, at least in its origins, must date back to a time when the Buddhists of Gandhāra appreciated and approved of foreign motifs all undisguised. Witness the delightful frieze of winged Atlantes (Plate No. XV, fig. *b*), which in artistic feeling, as well as in subject matter and execution, belongs almost certainly to an early period of Gandhāra art, for it is difficult to trace much or any purely Indian art influence in it. With the exception of the frieze of river gods in the British Museum and a couple of panels in the possession of Dr. Lankester in Peshāwar, few sculptures are known which point more clearly to the Hellenistic inspiration behind the Gandhāra school, although the present fragment is by no means the equal of those others. Again the frieze of Tritons and fabulous winged monsters, of dragon-like appearance (shown in Plate No. XV, fig. *a*) is definitely un-Indian in conception and of an execution known only to the older period of this school. The same is, in less degree, true of the remaining figure on the same plate, the long and narrow frieze with various figures, both human and animal, artistically disposed in the loops of a particularly graceful vine scroll, with bunches of grapes at intervals. Here, however, Indian influence is betrayed by the choice of the figural subjects. The lion, the parrot and the monkeys are more Indian than otherwise, but the application of the vine, itself not an indigenous plant in India, to such artistic use is definitely an importation from the west, as has been repeatedly pointed out. Fragments of other similar friezes were also recovered at this site, and these also show familiar Indian animal forms, the monkey, the deer, and the peacock even, but no other continuous frieze was found except the one illustrated, and even this had to be pieced together from several fragments. The last fragment of this class which calls for mention here is the one pictured in fig. *a* of Plate XVI. Its exact significance is unknown to me, but it appears to be symbolical, representing a large circular vase in the centre, evidently containing lotuses, this object being flanked on either side by banners of streamers dependent from a triangular frame, surmounted by something in the nature of a glorified pompon at the top. There also appear to be bosses at the points where the several streamers join the actual frame, and the whole design must be acknowledged as highly ornamental. But what the precise meaning of either these banners or the jar of lotuses may be (unless both are purely ornamental), it is impossible for me to say. In general effect the streamers at least remind one inevitably of the Japanese *Gohei* with which, however, it is not suggested that they have any historical affinity, although it is perhaps not absolutely impossible, despite the association of *Gohei* with Shintoism. In Japan such streamers are said to represent offerings (*i.e.*, to stand for the rags one sees tied to trees and shrines both in Japan and in India) and it is at least conceivable that some such meaning should attach to the present banners, although there is little or nothing on which to base an assertion of the kind. The central vase or jar occurred also in the centre of the main frieze on the little

stūpa excavated south of Sahribahlol in 1907, now represented only by the plaster cast in the Peshāwar Museum. But an ancient intaglio in the Peshāwar collection shows the same motif, and it seems reasonable to suppose that some special significance must have attached to it. It is worth noticing, however, before leaving this bas-relief, that the various panels of the frieze here seem to have been divided off by tall plantain leaves (or are they palms?) rising from handled jars or vases, which is a device by no means common in Gandhāra.

The next section to be considered embraces the legendary scenes recovered this year, and although these are not strikingly numerous, they are exceptionally valuable as including a number of subjects not hitherto found. Unfortunately my transfer to Bengal shortly after the completion of the Sahribahlol excavations deprived me of the opportunity of making any personal study of the originals, but Dr. Vogel has succeeded in piecing several of the fragments together, and in interpreting others, so that some account may be given of the year's yield even now. A more extensive treatment of certain individual pieces, will, I understand, be published by Dr. Vogel himself elsewhere.

Perhaps the finest single bas-relief among those representing new subjects is the one illustrated in Plate XVI, fig. *d*, which Dr. Vogel very cleverly interprets as the Aṅguli-māla legend. As in sculptures of the Dīpaṅkara-jātaka, so here too, the main figure in the story (apart from the Buddha) is depicted more than once, first attacking his own mother, then assaulting the Buddha, and then in his final act of submission, where he lies prostrate at the Buddha's feet, with his garland of severed human fingers and his sword lying neglected on the ground. Indeed the posture of this prostrate figure, with his hair out-spread, is a further detail of similarity between this sculpture and that of the *jātaka* above-mentioned. The fragmentary scene below the Aṅguli-māla plaque awaits identification, but the presence of numerous monks would seem to point to some monastic subject, or some special discourse of the Buddha to his followers. But whatever may have served to differentiate the scene has been unhappily lost, and in the present condition of the sculpture no more precise identification seems possible. The great vigour of the attacking figure in the upper panel and indeed the exceptional delicacy of the execution throughout, notably in the case of the monkish heads in the lower scene, put this sculpture indubitably among those of the better period of Gandhāra art.

Another bas-relief, or rather series of bas-reliefs (now sadly incomplete) which Dr. Vogel has identified, are shown in the several figures of Plate No. XVII representing the travels and adventures of Maitrakanyaka, from his meeting with the two damsels and his subsequent dalliance with them (in the upper scene), through his later adventures with increasing numbers, up to his final punishment of the burning wheel.

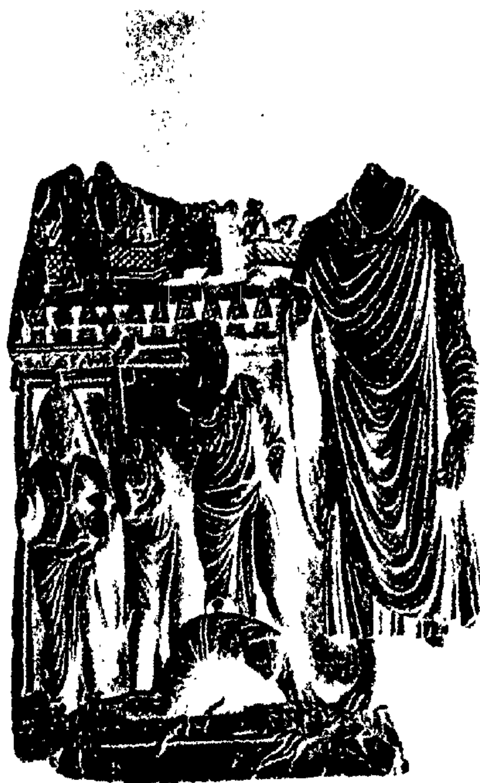
I believe Dr. Vogel further suggests that the long frieze of ornate chariots (fig. *a* of plate No. XVIII) and the sculpture with the elephant (Plate No. XVIII, fig. *e*) depict the Viśvantara-jātaka. But although in the latter fragment the young man leading the elephant certainly does appear to hold a vessel with the water of donation and may therefore indeed represent this one of the prince's gifts, I cannot myself explain the uncouth figure at the right of the composition, nor can I see that the relief



a.



b.

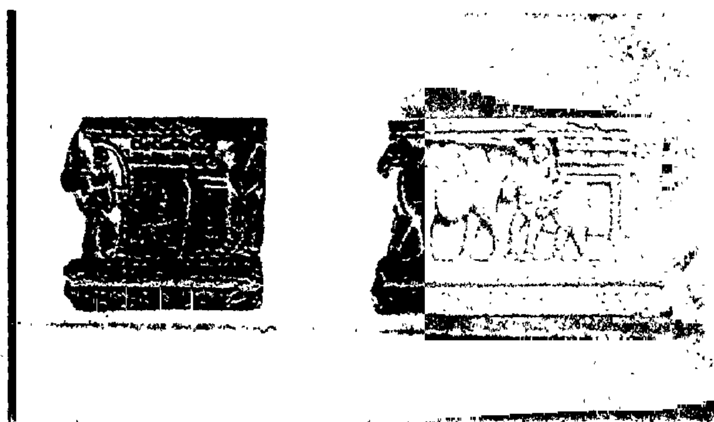




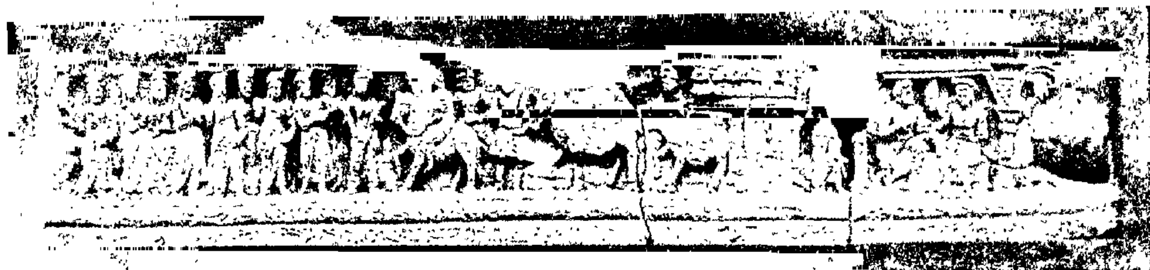
d.



a.



b.







a.



c.



e.



b.



d.

with the chariots in any way suitably represents this story. The continued presence in the chariot (assuming the same one to be represented over and over again) of three riders up to the last scene, where evidently one has dismounted and joined the leader, who is here, as elsewhere, on foot, in converse with a Brahman, seems to make against this interpretation. The gift of the chariot ought, furthermore, on the analogy of the Jamālgaṛhī sculpture, to precede the gift of the children, but here there appears to be no process of gradual elimination at all, nor does the royal couple at the extreme left seem to be a relevant composition; unless, indeed, in the scene just preceding this we have actually the gift of the first child, and here on the left the gift of the second. The kneeling figure may perchance be the child, supplicating his generous but most un-Christian parents, and the figure in the background may be the wicked Brahman. But what then are the gifts associated with the two earlier occurrences of the chariot, and why was not the chariot itself sacrificed before the children? Dr. Vogel's discussion of the scene will be awaited with interest.

Another new relief in regard to which Dr. Vogel had made suggestions is the one illustrated by fig. *c* of Plate No. XVIII, wherein we see a Brahman and a woman conversing before two royal figures over a kind of tub or box resting on the ground and evidently containing three men. Dr. Vogel is reminded of the amusing story in the Kathāsaritsāgara, where the faithful wife contrives in the absence of her husband to lock up her importunate suitors in a box, which is subsequently carried before the king and opened. And so far this is the only story which has occurred to anybody which could even remotely be suggested by this relief. However, the difficulties in the way of so intrepreting this sculpture are many. No queen is mentioned in the Kathāsaritsāgara, nor does the Brahman hermit appear appropriate. If only the right-hand end of the stone were unbroken, probably the meaning of the scene would be more certain. As it is, if we are to connect it with the story of Upakōśā and her three entrapped lovers, we shall have to assume that the bowed figure on the right is one of the porters, that the pensive female is the faithful wife again, and that the little *dēva* in the tree is an applauding witness of the removal to the palace of the box with its guilty freight, in other words, that the fragment represents an earlier scene in the story, presumably the removal of the box, followed by its opening in the royal presence. If this is so, it is indeed deplorable that the other acts in the drama are missing, for they must have been of a highly entertaining order. But the final discussion of this sculpture, as of all those hitherto mentioned, I must leave to Dr. Vogel.

The interesting fragment shown in fig. *b* of Plate XVI appears to be the long awaited duplicate of the one M. Foucher calls "La Frayeur d'Ānanda"[1] but, if so, it is regrettably disappointing. No other story is known, apparently, in which the Buddha actually passes his arm through a solid stone wall, but unfortunately the person beside the supposed Ānanda, carrying the curious cruet-like object, seems hopelessly irrelevant to this particular story, nor do we find the greatly desired figure of the vulture. The interpretation of the scene, therefore, must remain open to grave doubt, but the Calcutta relief discussed by M. Foucher is certainly the nearest parallel to this new find of any hitherto recovered.

A plaque for which no interpretation has so far presented itself is the one shown in

[1] *Cf. L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra*, p. 499, fig. 249.

fig. *b* of plate XVIII. Whether the curiously bent figure in the centre of the composition between the two trees is the Buddha, as one suspects despite the seeming absence of a halo, and whether again this person, whoever it be, is meant to be standing in fire or water, or to be just rising from or alighting on the ground, cannot be determined from the photograph in my possession. Apparently the three figures on the left are all males, as also the kneeling figure behind the tree on the right. The two behind this may also be men, and probably are, but the identity of them all remains uncertain. The kneeling figure is evidently trying to hide, and in this respect the sculpture reminds one of the attempted escape of Nanda, the first representation of which was found at Sahribahlol in 1907, but neither of the two trees in the present composition shows any inclination toward quitting its natural position in the ground, and the real significance of the bas-relief remains unknown.

Curiously enough, few fragments of legendary scenes familiar from previous excavations were recovered. Of these, one very badly damaged piece represents the departure from Kapilavastu, with Kaṇṭhaka facing, and another is part of the Dīpaṅkara-jātaka (Plate XVI, fig. *c*). This sculpture is most unfortunately incomplete, and shows only the Buddha Dipaṅkara (with head; right hand and left foot missing) and the thrice repeated figure of the boy, (*a*) standing with the girl (whose figure is preserved in a damaged condition on the left), (*b*) about to throw the lotuses at Dīpaṅkara, and (*c*) prostrate on the ground. But it is evident from what remains of the sculpture, that in every way it was most exceptional, and our failure to recover the missing fragments is much to be regretted. For so far as I know, no legendary scene on so large a scale as this has ever been found, and the individual figures in the composition are carved in such high relief that they stand out almost as though cut in the round, while the unusual size of the sculpture renders all the details exceptionally clear. The elaborate balconies above the street, which appear to have been crowded with spectators, from such traces as now remain, would have been particularly interesting. But for some curious reason, even the most diligent and careful search failed to reveal any further fragments of this piece.

Another sculpture which appears to represent a familiar subject is shown in fig. *d* of Plate No. XVIII. But whether this is really the Mahāparinirvāṇa or not, is rendered somewhat doubtful by the position of the recumbent figure, with head to the right, and the absence of a halo, as well as by the wide deviation of the composition in general from that type of the death-scene to which we are accustomed. In all probability the plaque does represent the death of the Buddha, but if this view is correct, it certainly forms an interesting variant. The almost exceptional clumsiness with which the reclining figure is drawn calls for no emphasis. Yet it is only in the feet and legs that this clumsiness occurs here, for otherwise the figure is not merely a standing figure laid on its side. The position of the head on the pillow is not altogether unsuccessful. Perhaps the absence of the halo tended to simplify the problem.

Of the Bōdhisattva figures (as I may continue to designate them at least until the second volume of M. Foucher's great work appears, and he is able to elaborate his theory as to the non-occurrence of such figures in Gandhāra), two relatively intact sculptures, one standing and the other seated, show that type of headdress with the tapering columnar support for a medallion in front which in previous papers I


a.


b.





have endeavoured to associate with Avalōkitēśvara. Neither of these, however (they are negatives 658 and 662 in the Peshāwar office), calls for remark, beyond the fact that the seated figure (Plate XIX, fig. *a*) was found *in situ* as mentioned above, at the point on the plan covered by the square 21-81, and some doubt as to the restoration of the head may reasonably be entertained. It does not seem to look quite right on the body, but the edge of the break appeared to fit satisfactorily. A more interesting image is the large one shown in Plate XXI, fig. *b*, where the headdress is also of a type I associate with Avalōkitēśvara, and indeed what I should be tempted to style one of the older forms of his headdress, as it contains those winged, dragon-like monsters among its ornaments which seem elsewhere to be associated with more purely Hellenistic compositions. In other words, I should myself be inclined to put this type of headdress with pronouncedly Hellenistic motifs, back nearly to the true Bactrian period of Gandhāra art in its origins, and as Avalōkitēśvara is one of the oldest of the Bōdhisattvas, and the form of his headdress conventionalized and stereotyped at a somewhat later date is only a variation of this type, I see no difficulty in identifying the present figure with this divinity. The facial types, too, of almost all the sculptures of this class have a strong family resemblance; not that I would assign any actual individuality or personality to them, as they are all far too schematic. But, for all that, it may still be possible that this recurring sameness does indicate an intended identity of subject. And if so, I should certainly call that subject Avalōkitēśvara.

Of Bōdhisattvas showing the loop of hair associated with Maitrēya, the Peshāwar negative 656 pictures a large standing figure in good condition (Plate XIX, fig. *d*), except that part of the halo and both hands are missing. The face, which is moustached, is comparatively well-modelled, and the expression, although somewhat morose perhaps, is not unpleasing, and at all events indicates the abstraction of meditation with considerable success. The pedestal shows a seated Bōdhisattva with two worshipping figures standing on either side. The two seated figures of the Maitrēya type shown in figs. *d* and *e* of Plate XX are both inferior to this.

The latter is distinctly closer in style to No. 656 and in face is by no means displeasing. But that of fig. *d* is, I should say, considerably later than either of the others, and betrays a coarseness of modelling both in body and face which can only be explained as Indianization. The treatment of the hair, too, is definitely inferior and shows an interesting tendency toward elaboration.

Fig. *e* also shows an Indianized figure, seated in the usual Indian fashion on a *Siṁhāsana* whose front is adorned with a tall urn and four worshipping figures. The same urn occurs on the pedestal in fig. *d*, although in devotional scenes usually found on pedestals, such an urn as this is very rare, as an object of worship. Dr. Vogel suggests that it may perhaps stand in reality for the alabastron which regularly occurs in Maitrēya's left hand. Compare the common occurrence of the Buddha's attribute, the alms-bowl, in the same position on the pedestals of Buddha images. The headdress is a lofty *krobulos* of curly hair bound with ropes of pearls, and in general effect is not very far removed from the headdress of the former figure. But whether or not Maitrēya is really intended is at best a moot point.

A considerable number of large, standing images of the Buddha were found, and

most of them in unusually good preservation. The largest and otherwise the best of these were the colossal statues shown in Plate XXII, figs. *b* and *c*, which were found lying, face downwards, with their heads to the north on either side of the ruined structure shown in 17-74 on the plan, having evidently stood originally on pedestals beside this building with their faces to the north. Both of these are in the main uninjured. The feet have suffered, and the separately carved hands broken off, but the latter were recovered and can be restored. The faces of both are in excellent preservation, save for a slight injury to one nose, and the drapery is practically intact. One has lost its halo, which makes the other appear larger, but that they formed a pair is indubitable. They measure now 8 feet 6 inches and 9 feet 8 inches respectively, and when set up on pedestals in the Museum, will form a most dignified and impressive addition to our collections, which effect would be greatly enhanced, if the gold-leaf with which they were originally covered could be restored.

The others are not without value also, but none of them call for detailed mention, as none of them show any novel features. But it is perhaps worth noticing that the majority show the naturalistic treatment of the hair, and that all of these standing figures have the right shoulder covered. It is also remarkable that none of the pedestals appear to have been decorated. They may indeed all have been let into sockets, as appears certainly to have been the case with the two colossal figures.

But whereas in this particular collection of sculptures there thus appears to be a distinct preference for draping both shoulders in the case of standing figures, the same does not hold good of seated images. Some few occur with both shoulders covered, but here the majority is the other way. Nor does the evidence of these seated figures, of which there are a considerable number, go to indicate any chronological significance in this detail. Some sculptures have the right shoulder bared, which, on stylistic grounds, must be classed as earlier than others where both are covered, and the converse is equally true. It is, however, noticeable that in the present group there is an over-whelming preference for the naturalistic treatment of the hair. Indeed there is only one sculpture among the seated Buddhas recovered this year which have been photographed, which shows the canonical arrangement in little curls, and this one is clearly Indianized. One would like to explain this as a further indication of the comparative antiquity of this collection as a whole, but the evidence on this point is far too inconclusive as yet for any definite assertions of the kind.

As for the pedestals of these seated figures, they show a considerable variety. The favourite ornament is a central seated divinity, preferably a Bōdhisattva, with two kneeling devotees on either side. These, I believe, are supposed generally to represent the donors of the image. In two cases there are three such figures on either side, standing with clasped hands, while one pedestal shows three divine figures seated some distance apart with two worshippers kneeling towards the central figure, and one standing beside each of the other seated images with hands folded as usual. Another pedestal shows no such group at all, being merely draped in the folds of the Buddha's garment as it falls over the front of his seat. But the most interesting of all (negative 645) is the pedestal of the damaged Buddha found *in situ* against the *stūpa* in square 20-75 (Plate XIX, fig. *b*). The centre of the



a.



b.



c.





composition here is taken up by a seated Bōdhisattva as usual, but the figures attending him, eight of whom are preserved (five on one side and three on the other), are in more animated postures than usual and do not seem to be merely worshipping. The more striking thing about the whole is, however, the fact that above and around this group, and even extending far up apparently on both sides of the large Buddha, must have been an elaborate composition representing all sorts and conditions of men and animals in various attitudes, though prevailingly devotional. Indeed, the general resemblance of this sculpture as a whole to the very remarkable fragment recovered at Takht-i-Bāhī in 1908 and now numbered 1151 in the Peshāwar Museum, is very striking, and it is highly probable that both compositions referred to the same general subject. Most unfortunately, however, both are very seriously damaged (due in part, no doubt, to the intricacy and delicacy of the carving), and no reconstruction or sure interpretation is now possible.

A number of detached Buddha heads were found without corresponding bodies, as is so often the case in Gandhāra, and some of these are of a very high order, as can be seen from Plate XXI, figs. *c* and *d*. But none call for special mention here.

Groups of the Buddha between two Bōdhisattvas of the type called by M. Foucher the Miracle of Śrāvastī were singularly few, and indeed the photographs before me show only one (Plate XIX, fig. *c*). Nor is it of any special merit, although interesting in various details. The front of the pedestal appears to be covered with a conventional representation of water, probably the tank from which spring the lotuses on which the three chief figures rest. But then, incongruously enough, in the midst of these waters we find a lofty altar with burning incense and a kneeling worshipper on either side. Nor is this all, for above this apparent watery field are three reclining elephants supporting the lotus of the central Buddha, each holding in its upraised trunk what is presumably meant for a bunch of lotus flowers. The Bōdhisattva figures call for no remark. But it is unfortunate that the two minor figures leaning out of the background between the heads of these Bōdhisattvas and the Buddha have been completely defaced. In all probability they represent the Indra and Brahmā which M. Foucher seeks to find in the chief attendants, because it is unquestionable that such is the identity of the two minor figures in the only sculpture we possess on a scale sufficiently large to admit of certainty (No. 374, in the Peshāwar Museum), but in the damaged condition of the present group one can only affirm this by analogy.

Three images of the Buddha recovered at Sahribahlol this year call for special mention, as they appear to be of a very unusual type (Plate XX, figs. *a*, *b* and *c*). In all three the Buddha stands on the left of the composition, where he is represented as very greatly surpassing in size the diminutive figures grouped at his feet on the right. His pose is natural and graceful in all these sculptures, exceptionally so in *b* and *c*; and where the right hand has been preserved, it either rests against the breast, or is held against the shoulder in an attitude as natural and graceful as it is uncanonical. The very marked similarity between the Buddhas shown in figs. *b* and *c* is particularly striking, and the thought inevitably occurs that both must be by the

same artist. The faces are pronouncedly alike, and there is the same easy graceful pose to the body, nay, the very drapery agrees almost detail for detail in the two images. The pedestals, however, differ, the one being decorated only with a conventional scroll the other with a large bowl on a sort of canopied altar with a Bōdhisattva seated on either side, beyond each of which is a devotee kneeling with clasped hands. In the case of this latter sculpture, the minor figures accompanying the Buddha are lost, only the lower limbs of some small reclining figure being preserved. In the other, however, although the attendants are injured, it is clear that one was a Brahman hermit (now headless), while a still smaller figure, very scantily clad, if at all, crouches down at the Buddha's feet but turned away from him, although his right hand reaches up to clutch the Buddha's garment, and he is gazing up at him, while his left hand rests on the ground. Behind this curiously posed individual is another, headless like the Brahman, and of quite indeterminate character. The significance of the group must thus remain doubtful for the present. But both of these sculptures are of exceptional interest and artistic merit. The third (Plate XX, fig. *a*) which is an inferior sculpture of the same type, showing on the pedestal four worshippers and a seated Buddha within a semi-circular shrine, is as a whole better preserved as regards the minor personages, but even here all that can be asserted is that the figure behind the *pansāl* is certainly a Brahman hermit (heavily bearded, and wearing the customary *jaṭā*) represented as gazing up into the face of the proportionately gigantic Buddha toward whom his right hand is outstretched. Before the *pansāl* are two other slightly larger figures, both headless, but presumably also Brahman ascetics, while between them and the Buddha's feet is a tiny seated figure leaning slightly back with the left hand resting on the ground. The interpretation again remains uncertain, which is a pity, as sculptures of this class are very rare. Curiously enough a fragment of a similar group was recovered in the course of the conservation work at Takht-i-Bāhī in the same year, but here the entire Buddha figure is lost, and only the feet and one small attendant remain. This latter figure is, however, of exceptional merit and interest being a well-proportioned and most carefully modelled little child kneeling on both knees and bowing forward and a little away from the Buddha, while at the same time looking up at him over the right shoulder and salaaming in the most natural way with the right hand. The left arm is bent sharply at a right angle, and the hand clutches some apparently soft and yielding object, one end of which rests upon the ground. But here, too, I can only speak of the peculiar artistic merit of the figure, without advancing any identification. The pedestal of the Takht-i-Bāhī



Fig. 2.

fragment, it may be mentioned, shows the familiar motif of the garland-bearing Erotes.[1]

Among the miscellaneous fragments recovered may be noticed negative 702 fig. 3, which is a small figure kneeling and bowing deep down, with left hand touching the forehead, the support of the figure being a conventional lotus (fig. 3 in the text). The execution in this little image is good. It presumably formed originally part of some such complicated composition as that surrounding the seated Buddha mentioned above as having been found *in situ* at point 20-74 on the plan.



Fig. 3.

Another fragment of both interest and beauty is the headless, footless and nearly armless body of a female (fig. 4 in the text), which is remarkable for the delicacy of the modelling and the grace of both pose and drapery. It reminds one irresistibly of some of the damaged fragments one sees in the Greek galleries in Europe, and must have been a little gem before its mutilation.

A curious, round-eyed, staring head, with uncouth moustache and half open mouth showing four large teeth is pictured in fig. 5 in the text. The nose and upper part of the head are broken, which may in part account for the almost amusing expression of shocked surprise which the face now wears, but for the treatment of eye and mouth the little fragment is of distinct interest apart from this.



Fig. 4.

Eight triangular fragments were found, all well preserved, two showing the ichthyo-centaur motif, two the winged centaur, one the parrot, another the lion, and two showing mere conventional foliage, but there is nothing of very special moment about any of these.

Of infinitely greater interest and value are the two sculptures now to be recorded. That shown in fig. *a* of Plate XXI is the portrait head of an aged monk, which is believed to be quite unique in

[1] Since the above was written, Mr. Hargreaves tells me that he has found some of the missing portions of the Takht-i-Bāhi sculpture, which is here reproduced as restored in text illustration fig. 2. Mr. Hargreaves also calls attention to the legendary scene from the same place which I published as fig. (*a*) of Plate XLII in the Archæological Annual for 1908-09, and makes the very excellent suggestion that perhaps this plaque is a fully detailed composition of the same legend which the other four sculptures represent in abbreviated form. This appears to me highly probable, as all four seem to show essentially the same grouping, and all might equally well epitomize the larger composition. But the legend referred to has not yet been determined. If I am right in thinking that the two damaged figures at the extreme left are Vajrapāṇi and a monk, the Buddha figure must be Gautama, and the incident one subsequent to the enlightenment.

character in the Gandhāra school. The strongly hooked nose, the determined mouth, and the firm chin, would seem to indicate a stern and commanding personality, while in the high and dome-like forehead we may perhaps find an indication of intellectual power sufficient to explain the accordance to this monk of so very exceptional an honour as a portrait statue. On the other hand, of course, the figure may merely be that of a royal patron in religious garb, but none of the coins known to me show any very closely approaching type. The nearest is perhaps the head of Huvishka, on the coin pictured in fig. 10 of Plate XIII in V. A. Smiths' *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, but even here the agreement is by no means altogether convincing. There appears to be the same stern mouth and chin, and the same prominence in the nose, but the latter feature is not so pronouncedly hooked as in the sculpture. As regards this detail, fig. 14 of Mr. Smith's Plate XII is perhaps a closer approach, but this, too, is not quite satisfactory. However, the marked variation in the facial types on Huvishka's coins must bespeak inferior portraiture, and perhaps a slight mitigation of so singular a feature as this royal nose, if it be royal, could reasonably be expected on the royal coins. A more realistic portrayal would be equally natural after the monarch had set aside the pomps and vanities of the world, and assumed the yellow robe, and it thus appears by no means impossible that in this sculptural fragment we actually do possess the likeness of Huvishka. But on stylistic grounds this identification would seem to be most improbable. Such evidence as the Kanishka casket affords points clearly to the fact that loss of power had already smitten the artists of Gandhāra, and so strikingly fine a piece of realistic portraiture would be hard to explain in the subsequent generation. Nor do the sculptures associated with Huvishka's name at Mathurā point to the existence in this reign of artists of this excellence. Here, however, the geographical remoteness comes in to complicate the issues, and no final judgment can as yet be formed. But whether or not it ever prove possible to put a definite name to this sculpture, we may at least rejoice that it has been recovered. For it is certainly one of the most strikingly successful fragments that have come down to us from ancient India.

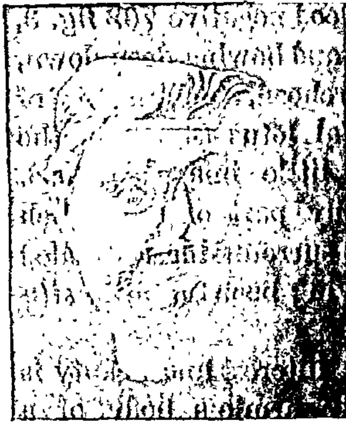


Fig. 5.

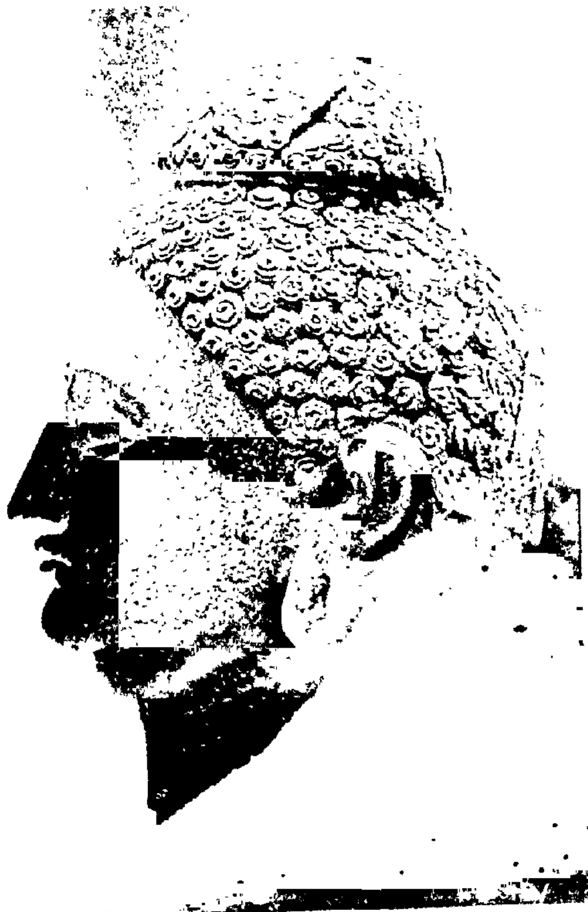
Nor, fortunately, are we left without a clue as to what the statue as a whole must have been, of which this portrait head is a fragment. Although no corresponding body could be found, a curiously lean and withered hand, holding the base of a miniature shrine, appears certainly to have belonged to this sculpture; so that, despite the absence of the trunk, we are probably justified in conceiving of the original as a full length image of an aged abbot, clean shaven and with the full tonsure, draped in the monkish robe and holding against the breast a little trefoil shrine containing an image of the Buddha. That this statuette was of precious metal is probable and its disappearance therefore easy to explain. The little stone shrine thus forms a kind of counterpart to the empty stone throne or seat recovered in 1909 by Mr. Marshall and Dr. Vogel at Chārsadda, which also must have held an image of gold or silver originally.



a.



b.



c.



d

PLATE XXII.

EXCAVATIONS AT SAHRIBAHLOL.



a.



b.



c.



d.

The type of sculpture thus theoretically restored is most unusual in Gandhāra, and with only the monkish head as evidence, no such restoration would have been permissible, even in theory. Nor would one have been able easily to see precisely the significance of the object held in the withered hand, had it not been for the fortunate recovery at this site of a companion statue in admirable preservation (Plate XXII, fig. *a*). This is evidently a royal female figure, with lofty coiffure bound with a sort of fillet, presumably of gold and jewels, with what may be a kind of flowing scarf behind, which gives the head a curiously Assyrian appearance. She wears a very massive collarette or necklace, with a round medal dependent in the front, and ample indications of having been jewelled at intervals. The upper arm is loaded with numberless armlets, while the wrist shows a very wide and heavy bracelet, in its massiveness reminding one of the magnificent golden bracelet loaned to the Peshāwar Museum by Mr. Marshall. Over the left shoulder is a heavy double cord, either woven or intricately linked, if of metal, which falls to the ankles, where it is evidently fastened, on the right, with a very elaborate clasp. The drapery is very rich and graceful, falling in natural folds to the feet, which seem to have been covered, while one fold of the garment is caught up over the left forearm from which the end depends in a very easy and graceful manner. Either the material of this robe is singularly diaphanous, which in Indian sculpture is always an easy assumption, or the upper portion of the body is undraped. At all events, the transition from the seemingly nude bust to the heavily draped limbs is effected with great subtlety so that in the photograph, at least, it is not at all clear where this drapery actually begins, nor how it is supported. But the total effect is certainly very pleasing, and the costume as a whole must have been both rich and elegant. That the figure represents a queen is suggested not alone by the sumptuousness of the jewelled ornaments (even the fingers show numerous rings, which is a most unusual feature in Gandhāra sculpture), but even more unmistakably by the decoration of the pedestal, which here, in marked contrast to what is customary, shows the head and shoulders of a figure in all probability representing the Earth-goddess. If this interpretation be accepted, and there really seems no doubt about it, the statue must represent a royal figure, for so triumphant or commanding a position above the Earth as such can certainly imply nothing except royal rank. But with reference to the suggested theoretical restoration of the statue with the monk's head, the most important feature of the present sculpture is the fact that it too holds a little trefoil shrine against the breast. This not only enables us to reconstruct the scheme of the missing sculpture with reasonable certainty, but may even be an indication corroborative of the assumption that, despite the monkish tonsure in the portrait head, the statue from which it came was really that of a royal personage, for it may quite conceivably have formed the pendant to the present female figure, and the pair together have represented the king and queen of those times depicted symbolically, but with sufficient clearness, as patrons and supporters of the church.[1]

The curiously Persian or Assyrian appearance of the queen's statue is in the nature of a surprise, and one is tempted at once to see some connection between this

[1] It may be noted here that a third pair of hands holding the fragment of such a shrine was also recovered, but no trace was found of the body to which they belonged.

fact and the presence of the two Sassanian coins mentioned above. But it is perfectly inconceivable to my mind that sculptures of the excellence of this monkish portrait, or even of this queen's statue, where the face is perhaps lacking in individuality, could have been produced at a period so late as that suggested by Professor Rapson for the coin submitted to him. Such an assumption would certainly go against all accepted theories of the Gandhāra school. It is much more probable, at least, that the Huvishka theory is nearer the truth. But are we to imagine that the Kushāṇ ladies dressed like this? If so, they were singularly ahead of their husbands, judging from the uncouth costumes of the Kushāṇ monarchs on their coins. But surely the XXth century has no reason to be surprised at this, or to see in this apparent lack of æsthetic harmony between husband and wife any real argument against a tentative assumption that in these sculptures the Peshāwar Museum has obtained important likenesses of Huvishka and his queen.

D. B. SPOONER.

THE MATHURĀ SCHOOL OF SCULPTURE.[1]

SINCE I published my first paper on the above subject, many fresh discoveries have been made at Mathurā. Though in general they do not tend to modify my previous conclusions, the new materials are of sufficient interest to deserve a full discussion. Their recovery was due to the exertions of Pandit Radha Krishna who acquired these sculptures and inscriptions, often not without great pains, from the city of Mathurā and neighbouring villages, where he found them let into walls of modern houses or even put up for worship in some Hindū shrine. They have now all been deposited in the Local Museum.[2] In dealing with these acquisitions, I shall occasionally have to refer to other Mathurā sculptures, not hitherto described, which I noticed in the Calcutta or Lucknow Museums.

Buddhas and Bōdhisattvas.

Perhaps the most valuable discovery made at Mathurā of late years is that of an inscribed statuette (M. M. No. A-1; ht. 2′ 3¼″), which was noticed on the Katrā Mound in the house of a Brahman who had found it in digging a well on that site (Plate XXIII, *a*). It is made of a kind of black stone different from the red sandstone commonly used in Mathurā sculptures. This circumstance perhaps accounts for its perfect preservation. The Brahman owner of this sculpture had ingenuously identified it as an effigy of the Sage Viśvāmitra surrounded by his disciples, the divine Rāma and his three brothers. In reality, however, the image is that of a Bōdhisattva seated cross-legged on a lion-throne, his right hand raised in the attitude of imparting protection. That the main figure is a Bōdhisattva and not a Buddha is evident from the inscription on the pedestal which I read (Plate XXIX, *a*):—

(1) *Budharakhitasa mātarē Amōhā-āsiyē Bōdhisachō patiṭhāpitō*

(2) *sahā mātāpitihi sakē vihārē*

(3) *savasatvānā* [*ṁ**]*hitasukhāyē.*

"Budharakhita's mother Amōhā-āsī, in her own convent (or temple), for the welfare and happiness of her parents and all sentient beings has erected [this] Bōdhisattva."

It is not clear why this image should be called a Bōdhisattva, but from the foliage of the *pipal* tree (ficus religiosa) round the halo we may safely conclude that

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[1] Continued from *Annual Report Archæological Survey* for 1906-7, pp. 137 ff.

[2] *Cf.* my *Catalogue of the Archæological Museum at Mathurā*. Allahabad 1910, from which I have freely quoted in the course of the present paper. Sculptures preserved in the Mathurā Museum I indicate by the letters M. M.

it represents Śākyamuni. The treatment of the hair deserves special notice, as it exhibits neither the graceful *krobylos* of the Gandhāra school nor the canonical curls of mediæval sculpture, but shows the shaven skull of a *bhikshu* with a very pronounced *ushṇīsha* in the shape of a snail-shell (Skr. *kaparda*). Two of the four attendants (to whom the owner of the sculpture had assigned the role of Rāma and his three brothers!) are flying figures, presumably *Dēvas*, showering celestial flowers, the *divyāni pushpāni* of the texts, on the Bōdhisattva, and the other two chowrie-carriers standing at his side. Whether the latter represent Bōdhisattvas, it is impossible to say, but they occupy certainly the usual place of those divinities, at both sides of the central figure, and if not Bōdhisattvas, they must be their prototypes.

The question why the main personage of this group should have been assigned the title of Bōdhisattva becomes still more difficult of solution, if we compare the inscribed image first noticed by General Cunningham,[1] at the village of Anyōr near



Fig. 1.

[1] *A. S. R.*, Vol. XX, p. 49, Plate V, No 5.

MATHURA SCULPTURES.



a.



b.

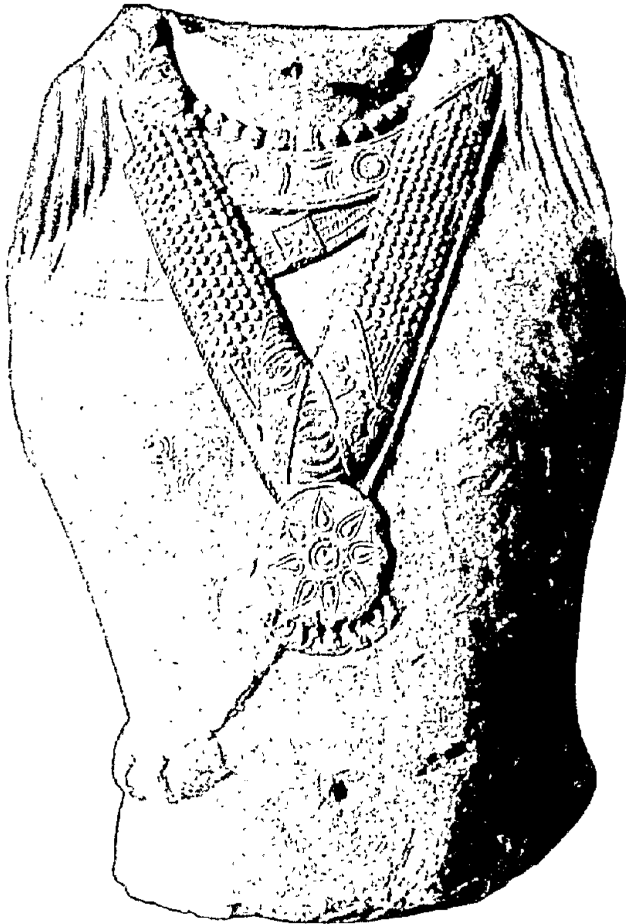


c.



d

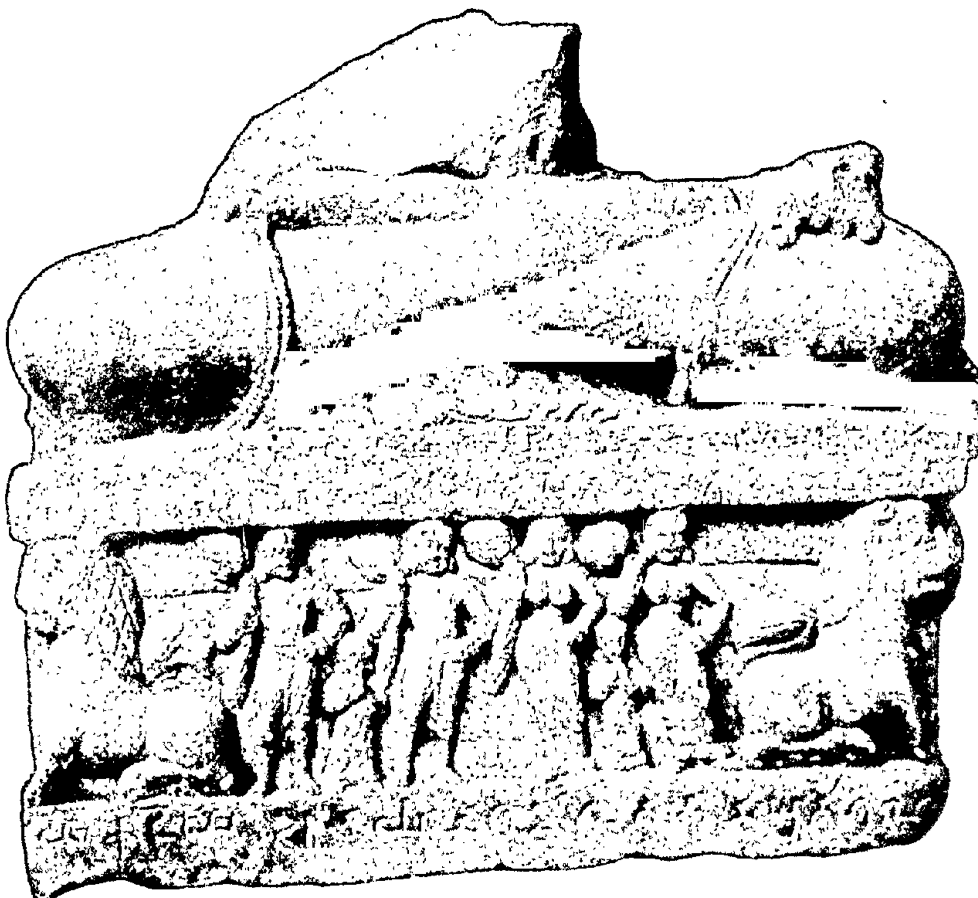
MATHURA SCULPTURES.



a.



b.



Gōvardhan and since acquired for the Mathurā Museum (No. A-2; ht. 2′ 9″). Unfortunately the head and right arm are lost, but what remains of the image shows the greatest similarity to the Katrā statuette (Plate XXIII, *b*). The position of the figure is the same; here also the right hand was evidently raised at the height of the shoulder in the gesture of protection (*abhaya-mudrā*), and on the remnants of the halo the foliage of the Bōdhi tree is clearly delineated. Yet the inscription distinctly describes the Anyōr statuette as "an image of Buddha."

I give the epigraph in full (Plate XXIX, *b*)—

(1) *Upāsakasya Sushasya Hārushasya dāna[ṁ] Budhaprat[i]mā Uttarasya H[ā]rusha[sya]*

(2) *vihārē sahā mātāpitihi sarvasatvān[ā*]ṁ hitasukh[ā*]rtha[ṁ*].*

"Gift of the lay-member Susha of Harusha, a Buddha image, at the convent (or temple) of Uttara of Harusha, for the sake of the welfare and happiness of his parents and all sentient beings."

The similarity in style of these sculptures as well as the palæographical evidence of the inscriptions prove that they belong to the same period, which seems to be that of the early Kushāṇ rulers. Unfortunately neither of them is dated.

I may note here that Pandit Radha Krishna found at Delhi a seated statuette (ht. 1′ 11″) very similar in style to the two images just described. It resembles especially the Katrā image in that the pedestal is decorated with three seated lions of a very conventional type. It belongs to a collection of sculptures which appear to have been obtained from a site in the Gurgaon District. (Fig. 1.)

I now wish to note two fragments of seated images, both inscribed, which on account of their style and the character of their epigraphs may be safely assigned to the same epoch as those already discussed.

One is the pedestal of a seated Bōdhisattva (Plate XXIV, *c*). From what remains of the figure itself, it would seem that it was of the same type and period as the three just described. The pedestal shows two seated lions and between them a group of devotees—men, women and children—carrying flowers as offerings. The inscription consists of three lines—two above and one beneath the worshipping figures. The character is Brāhmī of the Kushāṇa period, perhaps somewhat later in date than that of the Anyōr and Katrā image inscriptions. It reads as follows (Plate XXIX, *c*):—

(1) *Sa[ṁ*] 7 va...[di...]ētasa purvāyā Dharmakasa sōvaṇikasa kuṭubiniyē*

(2) *up[āsi]kā N[ā*]gapiyā Bōdhisvatva pratiṭhāpēti svakāyā chētā*

(3) *yā kaṭēyō (?) achāryana Dharmagutakāna pratigrahē.*

"In the year 7,[1] the . . . month of the rainy season, the . . . day, on this date, the housewife of the goldsmith Dharmaka, the female lay-member Nāgapiyā (Skr. Nāgapriyā) set up a Bōdhisattva in her own sanctuary[2] for the acceptance of the teachers of the Dharmagupta sect."

The other inscribed fragment must have belonged to a seated Bōdhisattva with attending figures, as we noticed in the Katrā sculpture (Plate XXIII, *a*). On the pedestal we find in the present case a winged lion(?), rampant, and a female devotee

[1] Unfortunately the date is not quite certain, as the symbol preceding the numeral 7 is not very distinct. It is, therefore, not impossible that there was another numeral preceding to indicate the units.

[2] The first word of the third line I cannot explain. Possibly it indicates some locality.

making obeisance to some object of worship—either an image or a wheel of the law—which must have occupied the centre of the pedestal. (Fig. 2). It is interesting that this fragment was recovered in the neighbourhood of the Katṛā which must mark the site of an important Buddhist establishment. It is now deposited in the Mathurā Museum (No. A-66 ; ht. 1′).



Fig. 2.

The fragmentary inscription reads (Plate XXIX, 4.) :—

(1) . . . . . [*upāsi*]*kayē Naṁdāyē kshatrapa*[*sa*].

(2) . . . . . [*Bō*]*dhisat*[*va*] *visa - ta*[*rē*].

(3) '*savasatānāṁ hitasu*[*khārthaṁ*].

(4) *Śavasthi*[**vā*]*diyānaṁ prarigṛihē*.

The inscription is too fragmentary to allow of a consecutive translation of it being given. It seems that the donor of the sculpture was a female lay-member of the name of Nandā, perhaps the relative of a satrap. We further find the usual formula :—"For the sake of the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings." Finally the image is said to be for the acceptance (*parigṛihē*) of the *Sarvāstivādins*, if, at least, we may assume that this is meant by the expression *śavasthidiyānaṁ*.

It must be admitted that the Bōdhisattva (or Buddha) type represented by these images of the Kushāṇa period cannot be immediately derived from any known class of images in Gandhāra. Mathurā has, however, yielded another type which it is possible to connect directly with examples of Græco-Buddhist sculpture. The Mathurā Museum contains a Buddha statuette (No. A-21 ; ht. 1′ 5½″) which was obtained from a Hindu shrine at Sītalā Ghāṭī in the city. Here the Buddha is clad in an ample robe covering both shoulders. The arms are broken, but the attitude must have been that of imparting protection. The two lions which symbolize the *siṁhāsana* are of a more natural type than those on the images previously described. It is a point of special interest that between the two lions there is a devotional scene, such as we regularly find on Buddha and Bōdhisattva statues from Gandhāra. In the present case the centre of the group is a seated Bōdhisattva who is being approached with flower offerings by four devotees, two standing on each side. (Plate XXIII, *c*.)



In the course of his excavation on the site of the Jētavana, Mr. Marshall discovered a Buddhist statuette which in every detail resembles the one from Sītalā Ghāṭī.[1] It is better preserved and bears an inscription. On account of the language and the script it is to be assigned to a somewhat later date than the inscribed images discussed in the first part of the present paper. But although this individual image happens to be posterior to the Anyōr and Kaṭrā statuettes, it does not necessarily follow that the type which it represents belongs to a later period than that to which those earlier figures belong.

Whereas, therefore, the Buddha and Bōdhisattva figures of the Kushāṇa period, the earliest known in Mathurā, still present many problems which only further discoveries may enable us to solve, we recognize a very distinct type of the Gupta period, of which past explorations at Mathurā have produced some very fine specimens. First mention deserves the well preserved statue in the Mathurā Museum (No. A-5 ; ht. 7′ 2½″) which is, moreover, of special value on account of its votive inscription which enables us to assign it to the 5th century. The delicate treatment of the drapery, the elaborate carving of the halo and the serene expression of calm repose stamp this statue as the representative of a type infinitely superior in artistic merit to the clumsy and lifeless Bōdhisattvas of the Kushāṇa period.

The Calcutta Museum possesses two Buddha statues of the same type which were presented in 1862 and probably belong to the sculptures excavated in 1860 from the Jamālpur Mound, the site of the monastery founded by Huvishka in the year 47. It deserves notice that the very similar Buddha in the Mathurā Museum came from the same site. Of the two statues[2] in the Calcutta Museum one (No. M-5 ; ht. 6′) is also distinguished by a most elaborately sculptured halo. The right hand and the pedestal with the feet are missing. The other image (No. M-13 ; ht. 4′ 9″) is inferior to the one just described, both in its proportions and general expression. The halo and right hand are missing. On the pedestal are remnants of a votive inscription which allows us to assign the sculpture to the Gupta period. Here as well as on the statue in the Mathurā Museum we notice at the feet of the Buddha two miniature kneeling figures which probably represent the donors of the sculpture. In each case the attitude of the image is that of imparting protection.

The inscribed standing Buddha statuette dedicated at the Yaśāvihāra, and now preserved in the Lucknow Museum belongs to the same period.

I have already touched upon the difficulty of finding any criterion to distinguish between images of the Kushāṇa period evidently intended to represent Śākyamuni, but some described as Buddha and some as Bōdhisattva. I may recall here that it is generally assumed with regard to the Græco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra that the figures in monk's dress are Buddhas and those in princely attire Bōdhisattvas. Professor Grünwedel,[3] when first advancing this theory, drew attention to the beautiful bas-relief of Muhammad Nari, now preserved in the Lahore Museum, on which we find a row of eight standing Buddha figures. These he identified with the eight

[1] *J. R. A. S.*, for 1909, p. 1065 ; plate III *b*.

[2] These two statues have been described in J. Anderson's *Catalogue and handbook of the archæological collections in the Indian Museum*, Part I. pp. 181-185. The statement that No. M-13 has no inscription is probably due to an oversight.

[3] *Buddhist Art in India*, revised by J. Burgess. p. 188, fig. 82.

Buddhas of the Age, and the last one, not wearing monk's dress like the others but distinguished by royal robes and a flask in the left hand, could be no other but Maitrēya the Buddha of the future.

Now among the sculptures in the Mathurā Museum there is the proper left half of a frieze (I 7 ; ht. 1′ 7½″) containing five cross-legged figures each with two attendants standing behind. Four of the seated figures wear monk's robes, but the last of the row has a high head-dress and ornaments, and, in all probability, is Maitrēya. This conclusion, it may be noted, is in agreement with what I have said in my previous paper regarding the figurine placed between the feet of the colossal Buddha statue in the Allahabad Library.

We may compare a similar sculpture in the Lucknow Museum (width 2′ 6½″) likewise the proper left half of a lintel frieze, which shows four seated figures, three in monk's dress and the last of the row wearing ornaments and holding an alabastron in his left hand (Fig. 3.). We may safely identify this figure with Maitrēya, the successor of Śākyamuni. It is noteworthy that he has long locks falling down on both shoulders. At his side is a kneeling figure, evidently a devotee, with hands joined in adoration.

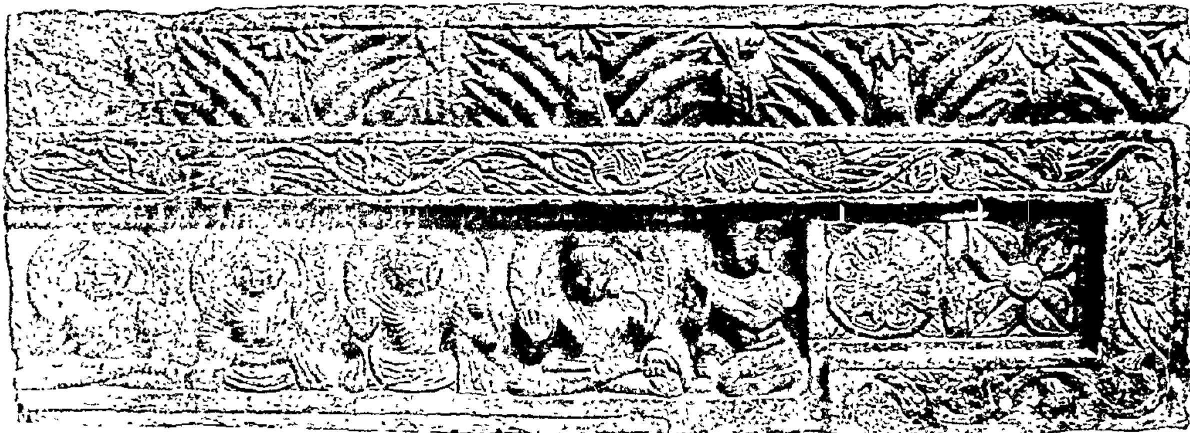
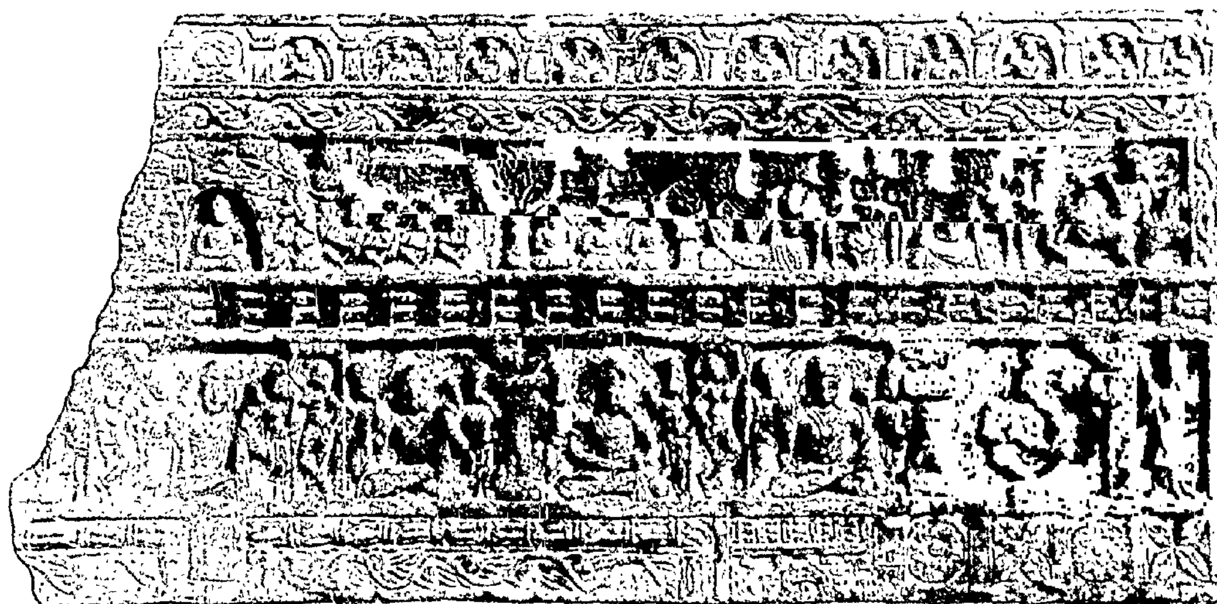


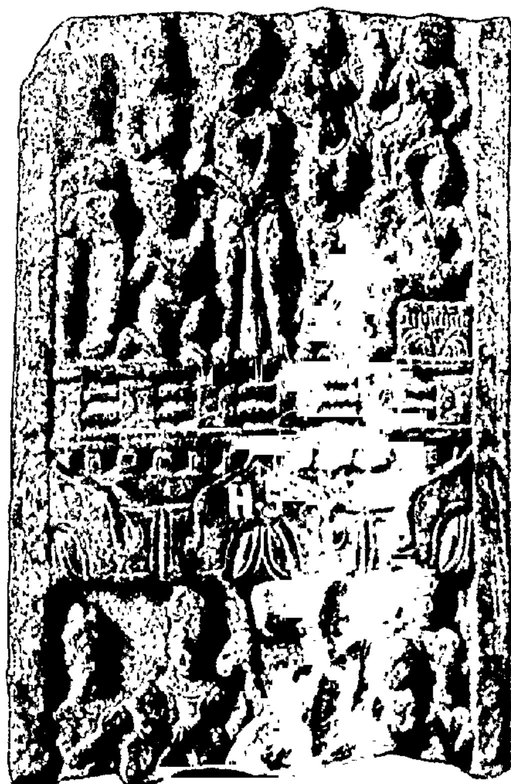
Fig. 3.

It will be noticed that on both these sculptures the seated figures assume either the attitude of meditation or that of imparting protection, apparently without any distinct rule being followed. Thus we find the figure next to Maitrēya which can be nothing but Śākyamuni, shown in the one case in *dhyāna-mudrā* and in the other in *abhaya-mudrā*. Another point worth noticing is that all the cross-legged figures, with the exception of Maitrēya, wear an ample robe covering both shoulders and therefore represent the robed Buddha type, of which we have quoted above two examples, one from Sītalā Ghāṭī in Mathurā City and the other from Sahēṭh, the site of the Jētavana.

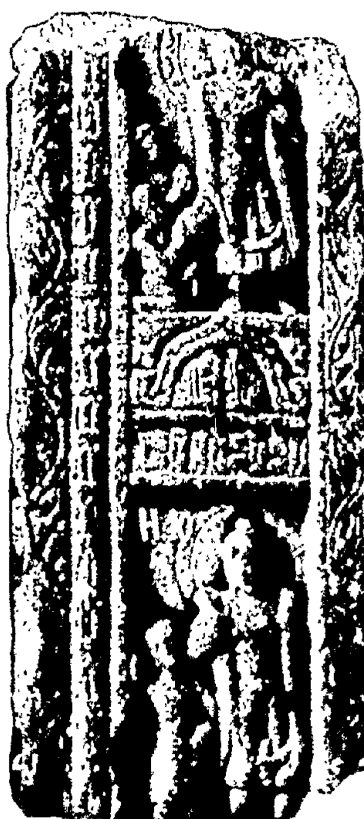
I now wish to draw attention to another sculpture in the Mathurā collection (No. A-68 ; ht. 2′) which I propose to identify with Maitrēya (Plate XXIV, *b*). It is a well-carved statuette, of which the right arm, feet, and most of the halo are missing. The left hand holds the alabastron or ointment vessel. It is curious that, though this figure wears ornaments, ear-pendants, a flat torque, a necklace and bracelets, the head



a.



b.



c.

has the short curls usually associated with Buddha images. This type—it might be called the Bōdhisattva Maitrēya with the head of a Buddha—is unknown in Gandhāra where the Messiah of Buddhism is usually pictured with long locks streaming down on the shoulders. The present figure, therefore, would seem to be a creation of Mathurā, but it may be questioned whether in Mathurā itself it really represents a type. Those Mathurā figures, at least, which we have been able to identify with Maitrēya, all wear a high head-dress like the one in the row of Buddhas noted above and in the figurine found between the feet of the Buddha in the Allahabad Public Library Another example is a standing statuette (No. A-43; ht. 1′ 5″) of the Mathurā Museum, which wears an elaborate head-dress and the usual ornaments. The left hand holds the ointment vessel, the typical attribute of Maitrēya.

Mathurā has yielded images of a still more ornate type closely related to the princely figures which in Gandhāra art are usually designated as Bōdhisattvas. In my previous paper I have already mentioned the remarkable standing statue in the Lucknow Museum which Dr. Führer obtained from the site of Gaṇēśrā, 3 miles west of Mathurā City. The same site has since yielded a seated figure (M. M. No. A-45; ht. 2′ 2″) no less rich in ornaments and exhibiting the same close connection with the Bōdhisattvas of Gandhāra. The head, as in the case of the standing image in the Lucknow Museum, is unfortunately lost. (Plate XXIII, *d*.)

The same profusion of ornaments is displayed by a torso of colossal size which Pandit Radha Krishna obtained from the Damdama or Jamālpur Sarāī and deposited in the Mathurā Museum (No. A-46; ht. 2′ 2″). In all likelihood it came originally from the neighbouring site on which once stood the monastery founded by King Huvishka in the year 47. We may, therefore, safely assume that this piece of sculpture is Buddhist, as must also be the case with the images from Gaṇēśrā. For that site also marks undoubtedly the spot of a group of buildings belonging to the Buddhist religion. A remarkable feature of the torso are the traces of long locks visible on both shoulders. (Plate XXIV, *a*.)

Legendary Scenes.

In my first article I have drawn attention to the fact that in the Mathurā school the number of scenes of Buddha's life is very small compared to the wealth of legendary bas-reliefs found in Gandhāra. This statement needs no modification, although, since it was made, a few more sculptures illustrative of the Buddha legend have come to light at Mathurā.

In this connection I wish, first of all, to note a bas-relief in the Buddhist section of the Lucknow Museum (Plate XXV, *a*). There is good reason to suppose that it came from Mathurā (authentic information regarding its provenance is unfortunately wanting) and that it belongs to the sculptures excavated from the Jamālpur Mound and subsequently sent to Agra. The sculpture, like the torso noticed above, may therefore once have belonged to the great convent of King Huvishka. The sculpture appears to be the proper left half of a large bas-relief which perhaps once decorated the lintel of a temple entrance. It shows a row of Buddhas and Bōdhisattvas seated, each with two attendants standing behind. Over these figures and separated from them by a railing are a series of scenes from the Buddha's life placed side by side without any

separating members. Starting from the proper left end we find :—1st, Sūrya the Sun-god on his chariot drawn by four horses ; 2nd, Buddha's enlightenment or *bōdhi* symbolized in his victory over Māra and his daughters ; 3rd, Buddha's first sermon represented by his actually turning the Wheel-of-the-Law, at the side of which we notice his first five converts ; 4th, Buddha worshipped by Indra in the Indraśaila Cave.

Let us compare with this sculpture the Rāj Ghāṭ slab in the Mathurā Museum[1] on which we find the following five scenes : 1st, Buddha's birth; 2nd, his enlightenment; 3rd, his descent from heaven ; 4th, his first sermon ; 5th, his *parinirvāṇa*. A point which must strike us at once is that on the Lucknow Museum sculpture the birth scene seems to be represented by Sūrya on his chariot. We are naturally reminded of the fact that Buddha is called a kinsman of the Sun (*Āditya-bandhu*) and that indeed, according to some scholars, the whole Buddha legend is nothing but a Sun myth. It would, however, be hazardous to base any theories on the unique sculpture here discussed. So much is certain that, whereas among the four main scenes of Buddha's life the Enlightenment and the First Sermon seem soon to have been fixed, the sculptures show considerable hesitation with regard to the first of those four scenes. Whilst in Gandhāra the Nativity usually takes the place of the first scene, we find at Amarāvatī the Great Renunciation (*Mahābhinishkramaṇa*) instead.

With the slab in the Lucknow Museum we may also compare No. H-11 (ht. 1′ 6″) of the Mathurā collection which represents the scene of Buddha worshipped by Indra.[2] Not only is the treatment of this subject identical in both cases, but we may safely assume that the sculpture in the Mathurā Museum formed part of a slab similar to the one at Lucknow. It is curious that in both cases the Buddha in the cave evidently formed the centre of the frieze. This we may infer from the circumstances that in each case we find over the Buddha figure the holy head-dress forming the centre of a row of niches containing half-figures in the attitude of adoration. This, no doubt, refers to the worship of Buddha's head-dress in the Trayastriṁśa Heaven. Considering the paucity of legendary subjects at Mathurā, the prevalence of Indra's Visit is certainly remarkable. One more instance will be noted beneath.

Lately two fragmentary bas-reliefs have been found at Mathurā which both seem to represent scenes of Buddha's life. One (M. M. No. H-5 ; ht. 1′ 3″) shows two panels which perhaps refer to the Great Renunciation (*Mahābhinishkramaṇa*). The lower panel, of which only the upper half is preserved, apparently shows the Bōdhisattva leaving home. The head of the horse and part of the rider are still visible. Among the remaining figures we notice in the centre the one holding a bow which, no doubt, is Māra, the Evil Spirit, and at his side another with a fly-whisk (?) in his right and a thunderbolt in his left hand. It is not a little curious to see the Vajrapāṇi, so common in Gandhāra, re-appear on a Mathurā relief. The upper panel seems to represent the future Buddha, after leaving home, in the act of laying off his royal ornaments and making them over to his groom, Chhanda, kneeling in front of him. At his side we discern the head of the horse Kanthaka which in Gandhāra is always present at this scene. But it is curious to find an elephant also introduced

[1] Cf. *Mathurā Museum Catalogue*, Plate VI, *a*.
[2] Cf. *Mathurā Museum Catalogue*, Plate VI, *b*.

here, perhaps merely meant to indicate the royal rank of the main personage of the scene. The rest of the panel is occupied by five figures which are not so easy to identify. I conjecture that the female figure seated in front on a stool is Yaśōdharā, the Bōdhisattva's spouse, who receives from a maid-servant the alarming news of her lord's departure. (Plate XXV, *b*.)

The other fragmentary bas-relief in the Mathurā Museum (No. H-10: ht. 1′ 4″) likewise contains two panels placed one over the other (Plate XXV, *c*). The upper panel seems to represent the gift of a handful of dust by the children Jaya and Vijaya and the lower one is perhaps a very abridged rendering of the Dīpaṅkara-jātaka. The latter identification, however, is very uncertain, owing to the absence of the main distinctive features of this scene.

Here I may also note a sculpture among our latest acquisitions (M. M. No. H-12; ht. 1′ 7″) which Pandit Radha Krishna obtained from the village of Īsāpur on the left bank of the Jamnā opposite Mathurā City (fig. 4). It shows Buddha seated on a high throne supported by lions and surrounded by four figures, each of which carries a cup. These figures are no doubt the *lōkapālas*, each offering a bowl to Buddha immediately after his enlightenment.



Fig. 4.

The scenes of Buddha's life so far identified at Mathurā all clearly show that they were copied from Græco-Buddhist examples. At the same time we cannot help being struck by their utterly debased character, if we compare them with their Gandharian prototypes.

Birth Stories.

Next to scenes of Buddha's life, I wish to consider representations of his previous existences, in other words *jātakas*, found among Mathurā sculptures.

I have already noticed what perhaps is a very abridged rendering of the *Dīpaṅkara-jātaka*. The Lucknow Museum contains a fragment (ht. $10\frac{1}{2}''$) of a terra-cotta bas-relief which must refer to the same subject (fig. 5). Unfortunately its find-place is unknown, but it is not impossible that it came from Mathurā like so many pieces in the Provincial Museum. It shows the upper half of a female figure holding a jar in her left arm and standing in front of a door. This reminds us at once of the representations of the *Dīpaṅkara-jātaka*, so common in Gandhāra, in which the flower-girl Bhadrā is always shown in exactly the same position.[1] It is true that the chief personage of the scene, *Dīpaṅkara* the Buddha of the Age, as well as the Bōdhisattva Mēgha or Sumēdha (in other words the future Buddha Śākyamuni), are both wanting, but the raised little disc at the side of the door lintel seems still to preserve a trace of the latter in his glorified state.



Fig. 5

In my previous paper on the Mathurā school of sculpture I have recognized the *Viśvantara* and *Vyāghrī-jātakas* on the two Bhūtēsar railing-pillars in the local Museum. I have also noted that three pillars of the same railing are preserved in the Calcutta Museum and one in the Lucknow Museum. The latter has since been returned to Mathurā and now forms part of the local collection. In each case we find on the back of the pillar three bas-reliefs separated by Buddhist railings and other decorative features. Cunningham has already pointed out that on one pillar in the Indian Museum (No. M. 15-*a*; ht. 4′ 2″) the three scenes seem to refer to the miraculous submission of the *mast* elephant Nālāgiri at Rājagṛiha. This interpretation is certainly very plausible as far as the central panel is concerned. The other two unfortunately do not at all fit the legend as known from literary sources, but we may here have a different version of the episode unknown to the existing texts.

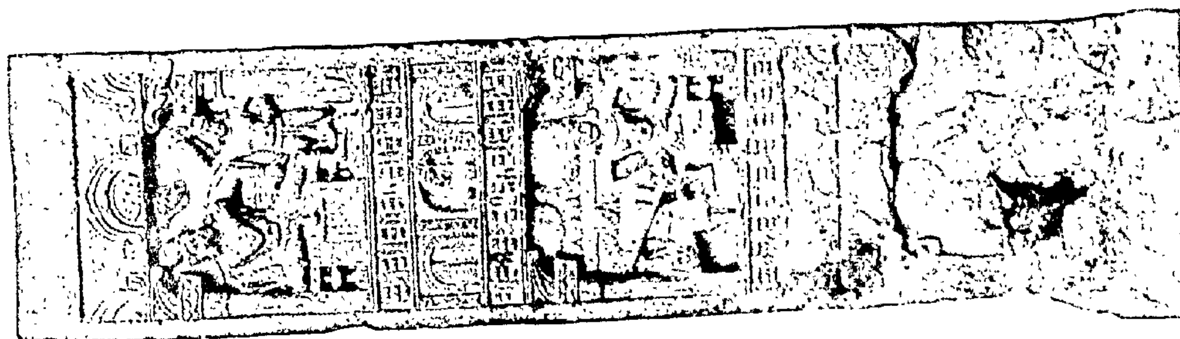
The second Bhūtēsar pillar in the Calcutta Museum (M. 15 *b*) has also three panels, which certainly refer to the *Valāhassa-jātaka*.[2] This is the story of the five hundred merchants shipwrecked on the island of the she-goblins (*yakshiṇī*) who made them their husbands (Plate XXVI, *c*). In the upper panel the chief merchant is seen climbing up a tree and addressing the victims imprisoned in a tower by the ogresses. The central panel shows us the wise merchants (the sculpture has only four of the two-hundred-and-fifty of the Pali version) who made their escape with the aid of a flying horse which in reality was the future Buddha. The lower panel pictures us the fate of the two-hundred-and-fifty who did not listen to good council and foolishly stayed behind. The she-goblins played with them for a while but on the arrival of a fresh supply of victims they cast them into the house of torment and devoured them.

[1] *Cf.* Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*. pp. 273 ff. and Grünwedel, *Buddhist art in India*, pp. 142 ff.

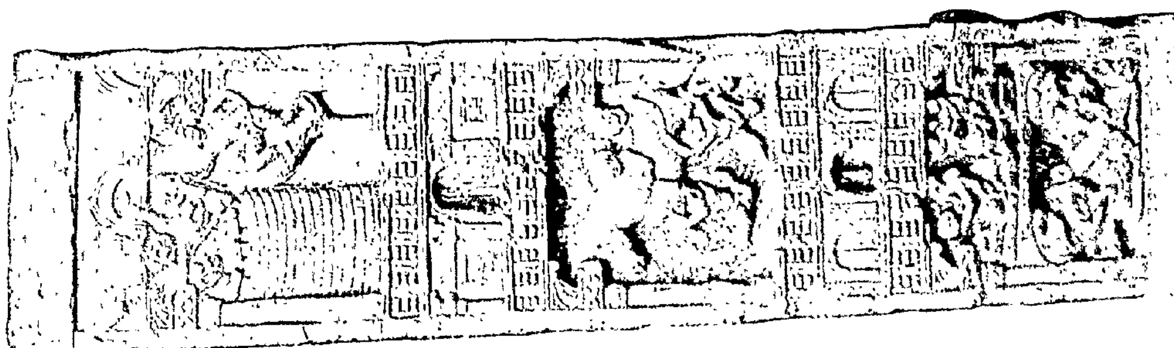
[2] *Jātaka* (ed. Fausböll) Vol. II, pp. 127 ff; (transl. Rouse) Vol. II, pp. 89 ff. *Cf.* Anderson, *Catalogue*. Part I, p. 1789. The writer mistook part of the final scene for "two mothers, each playing with a child on her knee."

The Sanskrit version of the *jātaka* is preserved in Chinese translation. Cf. *The romantic legend of Sâkya Buddha from the Chinese-Sanscrit* by Samuel Beal, London 1875, pp. 332 ff. Chapter XLIX. *The story of the Five Hundreds Merchants*. Cf. also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X (1881) pp. 291 ff.

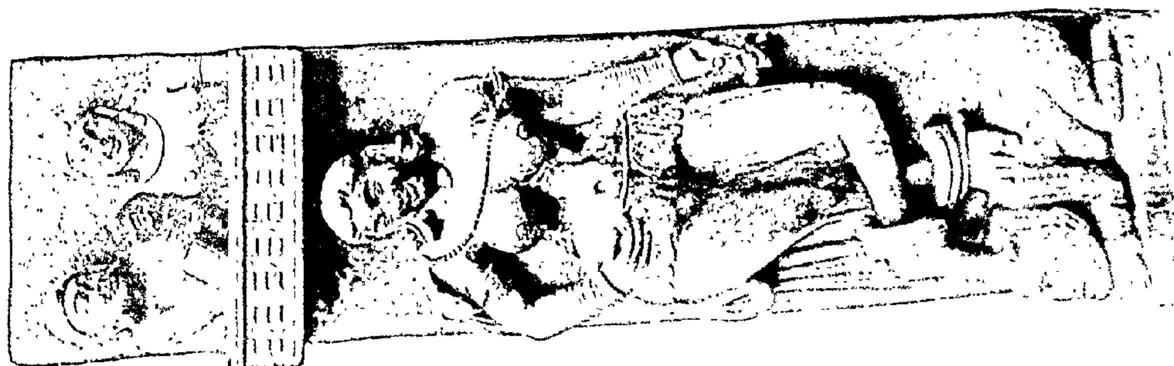
MATHURA SCULPTURES.



d



c

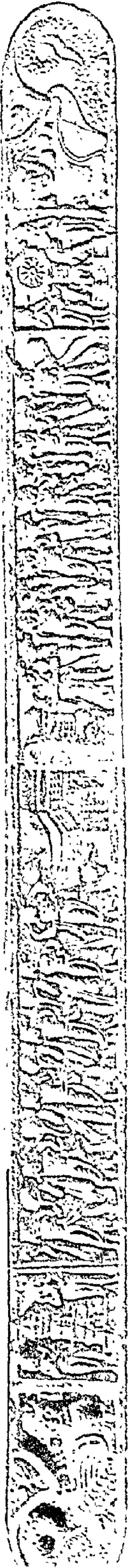


b



a

MATHURA SCULPTURES.



a.



b.



d.



c.

The third Bhūtēsar pillar in the Calcutta Museum (No. M.15-*c*) has three panels evidently referring to the *jātaka*,[1] in which the future Buddha rescues a pigeon from a hawk by means of a gift of his own flesh (Plate XXVI, *d*). In the upper panel the Bōdhisattva, born as Śivi-rāja, is seated on his throne, two attendants standing by. He seems to address the hawk perched on a pillar, whereas he holds the pigeon in his left hand. In the second scene the Bōdhisattva is plainly seen cutting with his knife the flesh from his right thigh. A servant to his right holds a scale to weigh the quantity of flesh stipulated as the ransom of the pigeon. It deserves notice that the balance has a single scale, as is still the case with implements of this kind used nowadays in Ladakh. The third panel is too much defaced to be any longer recognisable. It seems, however, that the personages represented are the same as in the previous scene, namely, the Bōdhisattva still seated on his throne in very much the same position and the servant standing by with the scale which here seems to have sunk (as appears from the position of the pole) indicating that the desired amount of flesh has been obtained.

The sixth Bhūtēsar pillar which has lately been returned from Lucknow to the Mathurā Museum has three scenes which I am unable to identify. In the uppermost panel we see four women emerging half-way from what may be either meant for rocks or for the ocean. The central panel shows a man and a woman seated side by side on the top of a wall or a rock in front of which a pair of deer are lying face to face. The male figure is playing the harp and his female companion seems to beat time. The third scene shows us a man being carried up a rock by a woman.[2]

In my previous paper mention has been made of a representation of the *Jātaka* of the Tortoise on a fragment of a railing pillar in the Mathurā Museum (No. J.-36 ; ht. 1′ 3″). Since then a similar fragment has been found, which appears to refer to the *Jātaka* of the Owl, though in some important details it does not tally with the literary sources.[3] It is likewise preserved in the local collection (No. J-41 ; ht. 1′ 2″).

Tōrana architraves.

One of the most valuable acquisitions made of late years at Mathurā is an exquisitely carved and well-preserved *tōraṇa* architrave which Pandit Radha Krishna noticed let into the wall above the main gate of a house in the City (Plate XXVII, *a-b*). Through the Pandit's exertions it has now been placed in the Local Museum (No. M. 3 ; ht. 7½″ and length 8′). On one side it is carved with the well-known scene of Śakra's visit to Buddha in the Indraśaila Cave. I have noted above that several instances of this episode are known from Mathurā, but the present specimen is superior to any previously found. The centre is occupied by Buddha seated in the cave

[1] The Chinese pilgrims mention a *stūpa* erected on the spot where the event was supposed to have taken place. Cf. *Si-yu-ki* (transl. Beal), Vol. I, pp. XXXI, CVI and 125 (footnote). For Fa-hien, see also Legge's translation, p. 30. The Brahmanical version, the story of Śivi (or Śibi), the son of Uśinara, is found in the *Mahābhārata*, *Vana-parvan*, CXXX, 22-31. The *Sibi-jātaka* occurs also among the sculptures of the Borobudur in Java. Cf. *B. E. F. E. O.*, Vol. IX (1909), p. 23.

[2] The same subject is found on a Mathurā *tōraṇa* pillar in the Lucknow Museum (V. A. Smith, *Jain Stūpa of Mathurā*, Plate XXVIII), but here the female carrying the male figure apparently climbs up a tree. Possibly she is a *yakshī*?

[3] *Études de sculpture bouddhique* in *B. E. F. E. O.* tome IX (1909), pp. 528 ff. On the *Kachchhapa jātaka* cf. *Jātaka* (ed. Fausböll), Vol. II, pp. 175 ff, No. 215 ; trans. Rouse, Vol II, pp. 123. ff. on the *Ulūka-jātaka*, *ibidem*, Vol. II, pp. 352 f. No. 270 and *ibidem*, Vol. II, p. 242.

It deserves notice that his attitude is not that of meditation, as is usual in Gandhāra sculptures, but that of protection. To his proper right stands the Gandharva Pañchaśikha, recognizable from his harp. He is followed by six female figures, probably nymphs (*apsaras*) of Indra's heaven, of which the first seems to beat time, the second and fourth have their hands joined in adoration and the remaining three carry each a garland and a bunch of flowers as offerings. On the other side of the cave stands Indra himself with hands joined in token of reverence and wearing the peculiar hat which characterizes him both in Gandhāra and Mathurā sculpture. He is attended by two females standing in the same pose. They are followed by three elephants, one of which must be Indra's vehicle Airāvata. The two other elephants are probably the riding animals of his two female companions. The presence of three elephants is unusual. In the other representations of this episode found in Mathurā we have only one elephant, and in Gandhāra sculpture no elephant is shown, except on a bas-relief (ht. 8″) from Kāfir Kōṭ now preserved in the British Museum.

The two square panels which indicate the junction of the architrave with the supporting pillars are each carved with a bulbous vase filled with lotus-flowers, whilst the projecting curved beams are decorated with a winged and fish-tailed monster with human bust, a blending of the indigenous *makara* and the Triton of classical art.

The other side of the architrave is divided in the same manner. Here the central scene evidently refers to the worship of the Bōdhi tree, the foliage of which is shown emerging from the windows and above the roof of a building. This sanctuary is approached by twelve male worshippers elegantly draped in flowing robes and arrayed in two rows of six on each side of the building.

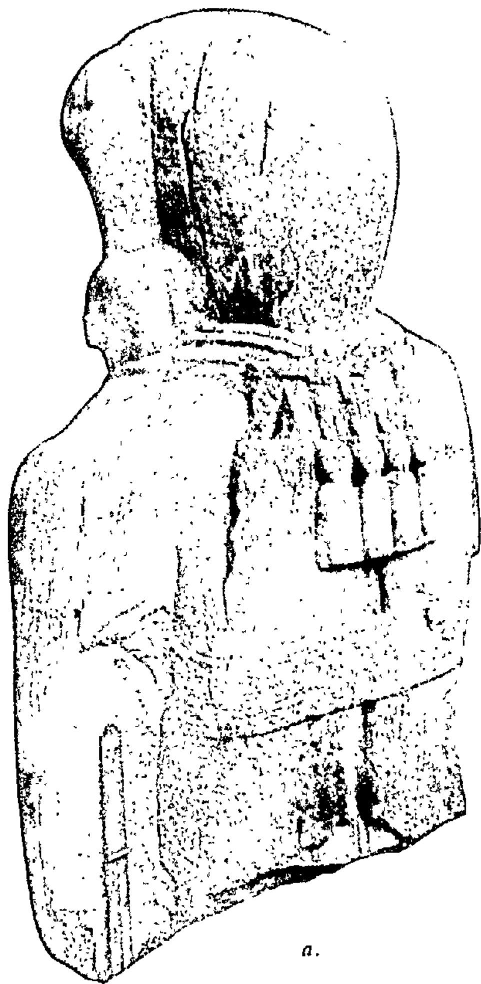
The two square panels at the sides show, the one the worship of a *stūpa* and the other that of a Wheel-of-the-Law supported by four lions, the fourth lion at the back being invisible. This latter device is well-known as the crowning member of pillars, such as the Aśōka pillar of Sārnāth. It is, therefore, quite possible that the three devotional scenes shown here side by side refer to the Buddha's Enlightenment, First Sermon and Death.[1] In Amarāvatī sculptures we find indeed the Nirvāṇa symbolized by the worship of a *stūpa*. This is, for instance, the case with a stele in the Madras Museum, where the four great scenes are shown, namely the Great Renunciation, the Enlightenment, the First Sermon and the Worship of the *Stūpa*.

The *tōraṇa* architrave just described affords an excellent illustration of the true character of the Mathurā school as a direct descendant of the older Indian school of Central India, strongly influenced by the Græco-Buddhist art of the North-West. In all its essential features, both structural and decorative, it is obviously derived from such *tōraṇa* beams as we know from Bharhut and Sānchi. The three scenes of adoration carved on one side recall at once these Central-Indian monuments. But the scene of Indra's visit to Buddha in the cave is copied from Gandharian examples, though not without important modifications. The fabulous beasts which on both sides occupy the projecting ends of the architrave embody both Indian and Hellenistic elements.

With regard to the last-mentioned decorative device, I may add that Mathurā has produced fragments of *tōraṇa* architraves which show a still closer affinity to the Old Indian school. The Local Museum contains two fragments (M. 2 ; ht. 7¾″ and M.

[1] Cf. Foucher, *Les débuts de l'art bouddhique* in *J. A.* series 10, Vol. XVII (1911), pp. 55 ff.

MATHURA SCULPTURES.


a.

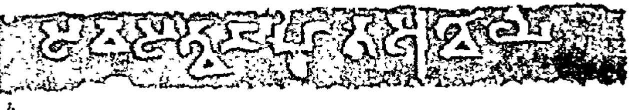

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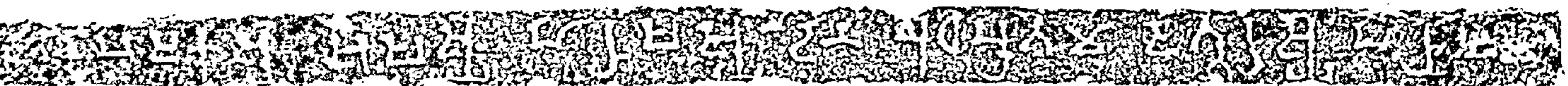

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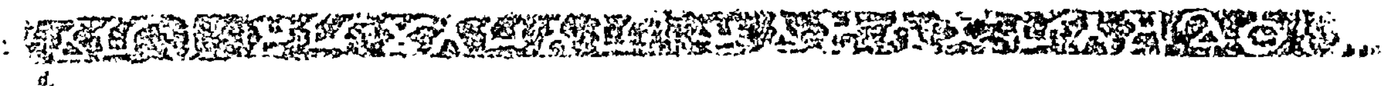
INSCRIPTIONS ON MATHURA SCULPTURES.


a.


b.

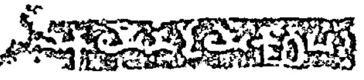
1. KATRA BODHISATTVA IMAGE INSCRIPTION.


c.

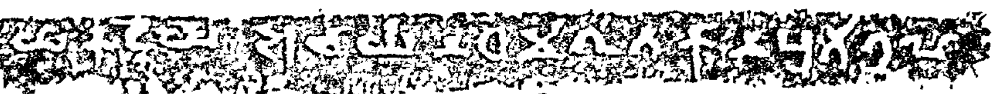

d.

2. ANYOU BUDDHA IMAGE INSCRIPTION.


e


g


i


f

3. BODHISATTVA PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION.


h


j

4. BODHISATTVA FRAGMENT INSCRIPTION.

7; ht. 11¼″) of *tōraṇa* beams, on each of which the end is carved with a yawning crocodile (*makara*) evidently a direct descendant of similar beasts found on the gates of Bharhut.[1] A close comparison will, however, show that the two are not identical. At Bharhut the *makara* has still distinctly the character of a crocodile, though the hind part of the animal is, as it were, completely enveloped in the spiral ornament of the architrave end. The Mathurā *makara* is a clumsy creature, more like a fish than a crocodile. It has two fore paws but these are very inconspicuous and its curled-up fish-tail follows the curved outline of the stone (Plate XXVII, *c*). It deserves notice that in the second fragment in the Mathurā Museum a new element has been produced, in the shape of a *kinnara*, armed with sword and shield, who apparently is about to be swallowed by the ungainly monster [2](Fig. 6).



Fig. 6.

Here I may note a fragment of a frieze which Pandit Radha Krishna obtained from the city of Mathurā (M. M. No. I-38; ht. 10½″, length 3′ 2½″). It shows a procession consisting of a lay-member carrying a garland, and five monks, of which one holds a fly-whisk, another, apparently a boy, blows a conch-shell and the remaining three are beating drums. They seem to emerge from the gate of what may be either a town or a Buddhist convent (Plate XXVII, *d*).

Gods and goddesses.

I now wish to discuss some representations of deities not exclusively Buddhist. The first is Sūrya the Sun-god. The earliest representations of this deity in India are closely connected with the conception of classical art. For he is shown standing on a chariot drawn by four horses abreast. This is the case not only in Gandhāra sculpture but also on a railing pillar from Bōdh Gayā now in the Indian Museum.[3]

It is well-known that in mediæval art Sūrya's chariot is invariably drawn by seven horses. This number evidently refers to the seven days of the week. We may also suspect some connection with the Buddhist goddess of Dawn, Mārīchī or Vajravārāhī, standing on her chariot drawn by seven boars.

Mathurā here also evidently followed the older schools, as will be seen from a sculpture in the Local Museum (No. D-46; ht. 2′ 9″), which, though very inferior as regards artistic merit, is in its main features similar to the earlier examples (Plate XXVIII, *c*). The very corpulent Sūrya is shown squatting on a chariot drawn by four horses. He holds in each hand an indistinct object, probably meant for a lotus-flower. He has long locks and wears a flat torque. It deserves notice that his shoulders are provided with small wings, as we find in Garuḍa figures of the period.

[1] Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bharhut*, Plate IX, and V. A Smith, *The Jain Stūpa of Mathurā*, Plate XXIV.

[2] *Cf. A. S. R.*, for 1906-07, p. 160, and Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique*, fig. 91. On the coping of the Bōdh Gayā railing we find *makaras* combined with mermaids and other fabulous beings.

[3] Cf. Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique*, pp. 205 ff. and figs. 82 and 83, also *J. R. A. S.* for 1908, p. 1095, IV, and *Si-yu-ki* (transl. Beal) Vol. I, p. 83.

The whole figure is surrounded with a circular halo. We have already drawn attention to a very similar representation of Sūrya on a slab in the Lucknow Museum.

Among the acquisitions of recent years there is a male figure, of which the head, the right arm and the legs are missing (M. M. No. E-24 ; ht. 1′ 9″). He wears a torque, a flat necklace, bracelets and a garland of lotus-flowers slung round his shoulders. The interesting feature of this image is the attribute which it holds in its left hand. It is a thunderbolt (*vajra*), three-pronged on both sides, which looks like the prototype of the *vajra* found in mediæval manuscripts from Nepal. Judging from the style, I would assign this sculpture to the Kushāṇa period. It deserves notice that it is carved in the round (Plate XXVIII, *b*).

Another interesting find consists of two fragments of a colossal image which Pandit Radha Krishna obtained from the village of Barōdā, 4 miles from Parkham and 2 miles from Chhaṛgaon (Plate XXVIII, *a*.). One fragment (ht. 4′ 2″) consists of the head and bust with part of the left arm, and the other (ht. 2′ 5″) of the feet and pedestal of the statue. They are now preserved in the Mathurā Museum (No. C-23). The carving is much obliterated, but the heavy earrings, the necklace with four tassels at the back, and the flat girdle above the abdomen indicate a close affinity between this image and the colossal statue from Parkham, likewise in the Mathurā Museum (No. C-1; ht. 8′ 8″), which, on account of its inscription, may be assigned to the second century B.C. The Barōdā image must belong to the same period and, when entire, must have measured not less than 12′ in height, *viz.* more than double life-size. Both these images were being worshipped by the villagers, the Parkham image under the name of *Dēvatā* and the Barōdā one under that of *Yakhēyā* which seems derived from Sanskrit *yaksha* (Prakrit *yakkha*). It is not impossible that these images in reality represent *yakshas*, or perhaps the lord of the *yakshas*, in other words, Kubēra, the god of wealth.



Fig. 7.

In this connection I may mention that at Mathurā numerous, usually small-sized, sculptures have been found which represent two corpulent figures, male and female, squatting side by side (Fig. 7). The male, seated to the proper right, holds two objects which, in most cases, appear to be a cup and a money-bag. The female usually holds a flower in her right hand and in her left a child seated on her knee. Sometimes her only attribute is a flower and in one instance (No. C-30) there are, besides the male figure, two females holding a flower and a cup respectively. It seems most likely that these figures represent the god of wealth and the goddess of fertility, though it is impossible to say under what names they were

worshipped at Mathurā. It deserves notice that one sculpture of this type (M. M. No. C-28; ht 9″) bears a short inscription which reads, *Priyati sidha[h]* "May the Siddha be pleased." From this it would follow that the male figure was meant to represent a *siddha* and not a *yaksha*. Anyhow the large number and small size of these sculptures seem to indicate that they belonged to popular worship and probably were votive offerings. In the case of No. C-30 of the Mathurā Museum we find indeed four clumsy figurines carved at the feet of the three seated deities. They are shown standing with hands joined in the attitude of adoration and seem to represent human worshippers, probably the donors of the sculpture.

The popularity of deities bestowing wealth and children, the two chief aims of the Indian house-holder, is not difficult to explain. The god of wealth we find worshipped throughout Buddhist India and, side by side with him, the goddess of fertility. Elsewhere I have discussed the peculiar shape under which the former appears in Mathurā sculpture.[1] It would seem that, whereas in Gandhāra he usually holds a money-bag and a staff or spear, we find in Mathurā, instead of the latter attribute, a cup in which a female attendant seems to pour some liquid.

Gandhāra has yielded numerous images of a goddess attended by children, one of which she usually holds in her lap. A well-known example is that excavated at Sikri by Sir Harold Deane and now preserved in the Lahore Museum. The same collection contains an inscribed specimen, very debased in style, which was unearthed in 1901 from Skārō-Ḍhērī, a mound near Chārsadda. The British Museum possesses a figure, evidently of the same goddess, seated with a child in her lap. Such images have been identified as effigies of Hāritī, the mother of *yakshas*, who was worshipped as a goddess of abundance and fertility.

Among recent acquisitions at Mathurā there is a headless figure of a female seated with an infant placed in her lap and four children between her feet (Plate XXVIII, *d*). A group of children at play are, moreover, shown on the pedestal. This goddess, notwithstanding her poor state of preservation and very debased style, exhibits so close a resemblance to the seated Hāritī in the British Museum, that we are led to identify her with that same deity. I may add that in the village of Tayapur, two miles from Mathurā City, she was being worshipped under the not inappropriate name of Gāndhārī, the mother of the Kauravas. So much is certain that, like Gāndhārī, she derived her origin from the Gandhāra country. Through the endeavours of Pandit Radha Krishna the sculpture has now been deposited in the Mathurā Museum (No. F. 30; ht. 2′ 8″).

General Conclusions.

The above account will show that the numerous discoveries made in and around Mathurā during the last three years do not seem to necessitate any considerable modification in the conclusions arrived at in my previous paper. They particularly confirm the character of the Mathurā school as a direct descendant of the ancient art of Bharhut and Sānchi developed under the influence of the Græco-Buddhist school of the North-West. Its fundamentally Indian character is best exemplified by the ornamental railings: their pillars, cross-bars and coping stones which have been

[1] *Études de sculpture bouddhique*, No. II, *B. E. F. E. O.* tome VIII (1908) pp. 1 ff.

found at Mathurā in such abundance, recall at a glance the Old-Indian prototypes from Central India. It is true that the so-called dancing girls (more probably *yakshīs*) usually found on the Mathurā railing pillars form a distinctive feature of the local school, but their origin may be traced back to the inscribed figures of demigods and goddesses which appear as guardians on the gates of Bharhut. An indispensable adjunct of the Buddhist railing is the *tōraṇa* with its three architraves. Portions of *tōraṇas* found at Mathurā, such as the beautiful architrave discussed above, clearly show that here also early Indian examples were copied, not however without the influence of Gandhāra making itself felt.

Græco-Buddhist influence reveals itself particularly in the Buddha image unknown in the early Indian school and, as far as our materials allow us to judge, created by the Hellenistic artists of the North-West. The Mathurā school has different types of Buddha figures, the exact history and meaning of which it is difficult to explain. Nor is it possible to decide why two statuettes of Śākyamuni, identical in all details, should be described, the one as a Bōdhisattva and the other as a Buddha. We have, however, succeeded in recognizing the future Buddha Maitrēya in a personage in royal dress who holds an unguent-flask in his left hand. This type also must have been derived from Gandhāra. It deserves notice that at Mathurā both Buddhas and Bōdhisattvas are commonly portrayed in the attitude of imparting protection (*abhaya-mudrā*), whilst seated images are also shown in the attitude of meditation (*dhyāna-mudrā*). Other *mudrās* are practically unknown here.

The scenes of Buddha's life are very few compared to the infinite wealth of legendary scenes depicted in Gandhāra sculpture. At Mathurā they are almost entirely limited to the four main events: the birth, enlightenment, first sermon and death. On the miniature *stūpa* drum from Dhruv Ṭilā (now in the Mathurā Museum) there are eight panels, including the four main events, but the four remaining panels do not exhibit the four secondary scenes found in Gupta sculpture. Apparently those minor scenes had not yet been fixed at Mathurā.

The stories of the Buddha's previous existences were as favourite a subject with the sculptors of Mathurā as with their brethren of Bharhut and Gandhāra. Here also classical influence is noticeable in that the story is not condensed in a single panel but told in a series of scenes. Specially interesting are the Bhūtēsar railing pillars, on each of which three panels occur referring to different *jātakas*. The following *jātakas* we have so far been able to identify: *Viśvantara-*(Pali *Vessantara*)*-jātaka*, *Vyāghrī-jātaka*, *Valāhassa-jātaka*, *Śivi-jātaka* and *Dīpaṅkara-jātaka*. Besides, there are fragments of railing pillars on which we have recognised the *Kachchhapa-jātaka* and the *Ulūka-jātaka*.

The decorative elements in Mathurā sculpture are partly derived from Old-Indian art and partly from the Græco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra. Among the classical elements, which in general exhibit an advanced stage of degeneration, I note the garland-carrying Erotes which appear, still further indianized, in the sculptures of Amarāvatī.

Recent discoveries have corroborated the view that the flourishing period of the Mathurā school of sculpture coincided with the reign of the Kushāṇa rulers, Kānishka Huvishka and Vāsudēva. We may even go a step further and assert that it was

particularly Huvishka whose sovereignty favoured the growth of Mathurā art. For among inscribed images several appear to have been made in his reign.[1] There is indeed some reason to assume that the development of Mathurā sculpture was largely due to royal patronage, if we remember that Huvishka himself founded a monastery there in the year 47.

The great influence exercised by the Mathurā school on Buddhist art in other religious centres is further evidenced by Mr. Marshall's discovery of an inscribed Bōdhisattva on the site of the Jētavana, as in the inscription this image is definitely stated to be the work of a sculpture from Mathurā.[2]

We may confidently hope that further explorations at Mathurā will bring to light epigraphical records which will allow us further to build up the history of the Kushaṇ dynasty. But it is hardly to be expected that later discoveries of sculptures will modify in any large degree the main conclusions regarding the character of the Mathurā school and its place in Buddhist art, which we have attempted to outline in the present paper.

J. PH. VOGEL.

[1] *Cf.* my *Mathurā Museum Catalogue*, Appendix I. Let me note here that in my previous paper I have referred to Huvishka as the son of Kānishka. There is, however, nothing to prove that such a relation existed between those two rulers, or even that the one immediately succeeded the other.

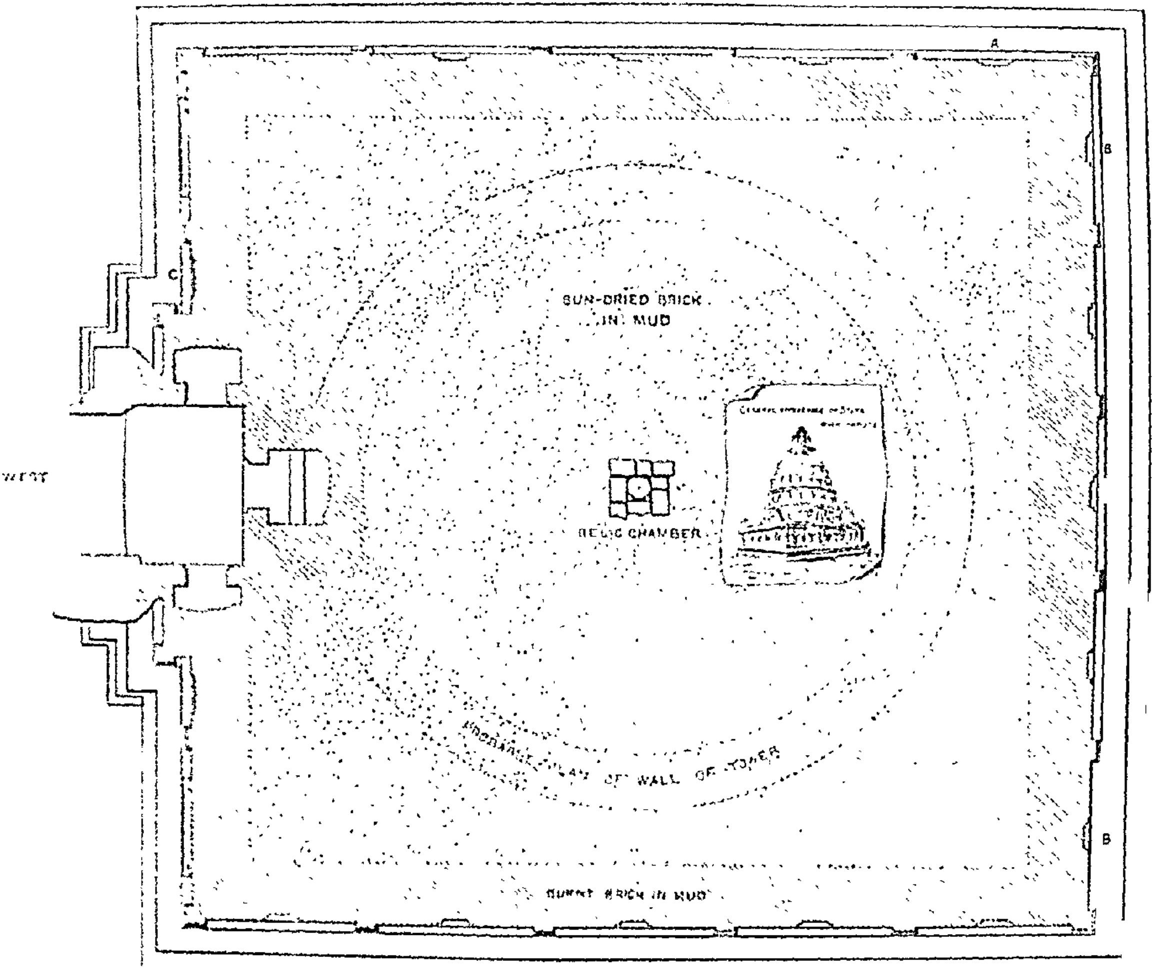
[2] *Cf. A. S. R.* for 1908-9 pp. 133 ff.

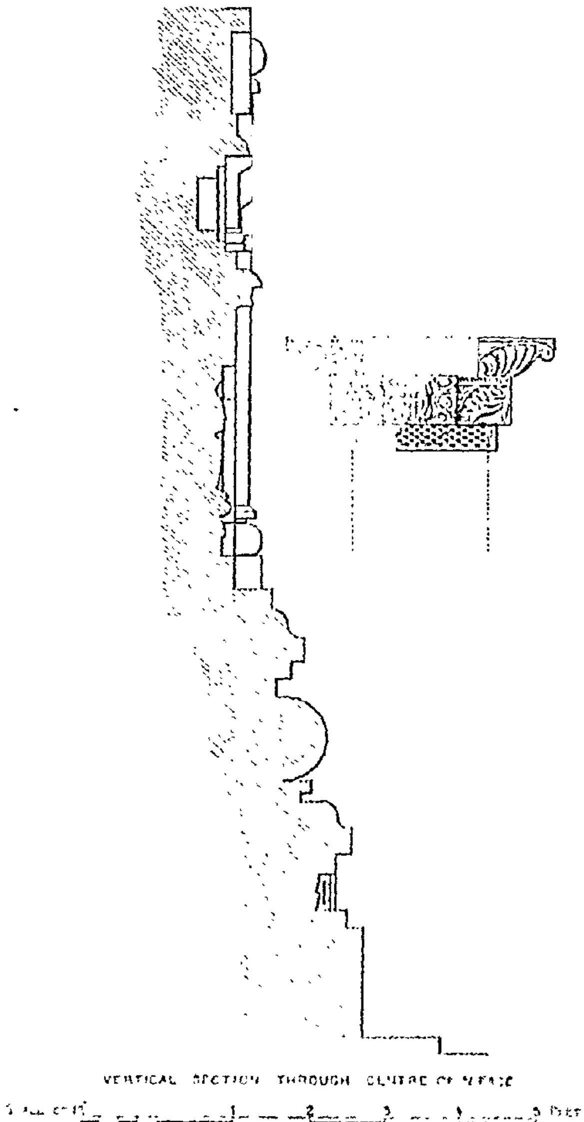
BUDDHIST STŪPA AT MĪRPUR-KHĀS, SIND.

THE town of Mīrpur-Khās, which has lately been made the head-quarters of the District of Thar and Parkar, in place of Umarkot, less conveniently situated, is upon the line of rail connecting Hyderabad (Sind) with Marwar junction and is 42 miles east of the former place. About half a mile to the north of the town is an area of land, roughly about thirty acres, covered with mounds, over the surface of which brickbats and potsherds are freely scattered. Very little excavation is sufficient to show that these mounds represent the sites and ruined foundations of ancient buildings of sorts; and the occurrence of very large bricks of an early pattern and make, together with numerous fragments of *htis*[1] of small dāgobas, make it pretty certain that the site was that of a Buddhist colony. The place is known now as Kahu-jo-Daro.

From stray notices of occasional excavation work attempted from time to time in the past by local officials (in one of which it is stated that, when the Hyderabad-Umarkot railway was being made, the contractors excavated bricks in this old town to break up for making concrete, and found a plentiful supply in the old tower, a few figures and ornamental bricks being spared), I had assumed that all evidence of the tower had practically disappeared, and so did not visit the place personally, being fully occupied elsewhere when in Sind.[2] But a proposal having been made to use the material of these mounds for filling in insanitary hollows around the town, Mr. Mackenzie, the Deputy Commissioner, asked me, when at Brāhmanābād in February 1909, whether I could spare a day to see the mounds. This I did and was surprised to find that there was so much of the *stūpa*, which occupied the centre of the north end of the general site, still remaining. I also saw that what remained of the core of the mound had not been disturbed, and that, if it was a relic mound, the relics were probably still within it. The mound, generally, was in such a ruined and dilapidated state, being apparently nothing but a heap of mud débris, that I had little hope of recovering any of its original walling. As the season at my visit was then too far advanced to do anything further than merely inspect the mound and bring away a quantity of sculptured bricks, I determined to return to it during the following season.

[1] Not the umbrella, but the T-shaped top of the dāgoba.
[2] Cf. *J. B. B. R. A. S.* Vol. XIX, p. 45.





SIND — MIRPUR-KHAS. Plan of Stupa and section of wall

It is recorded that in January 1859 the Hon. Mr. James Gibbs excavated the base of a brick *thūl* in which was found a vase of fine earthenware containing some pieces of crystal and amethyst. This deposit is said to have been placed in the Karachi Museum, together with a head in greenish stone presented by Sir Bartle Frere; but neither of these are to be found in the Museum now. When Mr. Woodburn, I.C.S., was Collector of Hyderabad, about 1894, he rescued from the depredations of the railway contractors a large terra-cotta seated figure of the Buddha, and a head and aureole of another.[1] These, as will be seen on comparison with the photos of similar images accompanying this article, were evidently taken out of the very walls of the *stūpa*, and are the only ones which I found missing. It is strange that the wall, in which it was placed, was not noticed, though it contained other statues, uncovered during my excavation.

My exploration of the *stūpa* was carried out during February and March 1910. Should there have been no walls standing in the mound, I thought it quite likely that the lower courses of the basement would still be there, so I made cuttings from the outside ground level straight into the middle of the south and east sides. At the same time, having located the centre of the mound as near as I could guess, I began sinking a 10′ well down the middle through the hard sun-dried brickwork. In the first two cuttings we soon came upon the edges of the square burnt-brick platform upon which the *stūpa* stood, and this was opened out to right and left of each cutting. We next uncovered three of the corners of this platform, which was only a few bricks thick; and it seems to have been upon this insecure foundation that the whole structure was raised.

Around the circular core of the *stūpa*, which projected from the top of the mound, was a kind of rough platform, indicating the upper surface of a basement upon which the tower stood. This was deep in loose débris, and I started to have this cleared, when, from the south edge, a head of a Buddha rolled away as the first few inches of earth covering it were removed. An examination of the spot showed us that we had struck the line of a wall in which was a sunk panel containing a seated Buddha. As the head of the image was only just below the surface, the shoulders and neck had disintegrated, owing to the alternate wet and dry weather and the presence of saltpetre (*kallar*) in the soil and brickwork which, crystallizing and dissolving in turn, works great mischief with brickwork in Sind, reducing it in time to powder. As this wall was opened out, other image niches were found, and it was easily seen that we had struck the south wall of the great square basement of the *stūpa*. This was followed until all four sides were laid bare. Three sides—the north, east and south—were found to be alike, the upper wall space being divided into five bays by pilasters whose bases rested upon the top member of a great heavy roll moulding plinth which ran round the three walls and parts of the fourth (*i.e.*, the west) side. The three central bays on each of these three sides each contained an image niche, while the two end ones on each side had a similar niche but filled with blind lattice tracery in intricate patterns in imitation of latticed windows. (Plate XXXI.) Two adjacent niches at the north-east corner had such, the niches at the other corners of the three sides being ruined.

[1] *Ibidem*, p. 44.

In order to uncover the four walls of the basement, we had to dig through solid burnt brickwork. This had been carefully built against the walls, and extended outwards from them some twelve to fifteen feet, and was carried up to the tops of the walls as we found them. The walls, with their mouldings and images, were thus completely and purposely buried some time soon after their erection, since the great bricks employed for this purpose were of the same size and make as those in the walls.

To account for this wholesale burying of the great basement of the *stūpa*, my first idea was that it was done upon the first inroads of the Arabs into Sind in the beginning of the 8th century, in order to protect and save the images from their iconoclastic zeal; but, upon clearing the walls completely, down to the original ground level, the reason for this heavy brickwork became apparent. From the lines of the mouldings in the basement, about 6′ high, it was seen that the *stūpa* had not only subsided some 8″ into the soil in the middle of the walls, where the weight of the upper tower pressed more directly upon them, but had also bulged outwards to the same extent on all four sides. This, due to insufficiently strong foundations, must have taken place at or very soon after the completion of the tower, and, as the stability of the whole edifice was threatened, there was nothing left for the builders to do but to buttress it up with this heavy brickwork. It is to this buttressing and burying of the walls that the remarkable preservation of the images is due. The subsidence inwards and downwards of the vault of the central shrine, in itself, shows the danger that was threatening the whole edifice, which had to be immediately provided against.

But a silent force of a different character was at work all this time trying to undo or, at least, mar the work of man. The *kallar*, already referred to, found everywhere in the soil of Sind, rises with the rains into the porous body of any brickwork accessible, and drying and crystallizing in the dry weather, bursts and pulverises the fabric. This takes place more rapidly in the presence of air, and we found amongst bricks which, not so long ago, were stacked by contractors for removal, many that had, since then, become just masses of powder. This *kallar* had already attacked parts of the walls and most of the images of the Buddha, that in the western niche on the north side being found encrusted to a depth of half an inch with an efflorescence of crystals, which had to be carefully chiselled away.[1]

[1] Dr. Mann, Principal of the Poona Agricultural College, was kind enough to analyse some crystal of this *kallar* which I brought away with me. He found it composed of :—

Gypsum	88·82 per cent.
Sodium Sulphate	1·51 „
Sodium Carbonate	3·62 „
Organic matter, etc.	3·15 „
Sand	2·90 „
	100·00

He considers the injurious material to be the alkaline sodium carbonate.

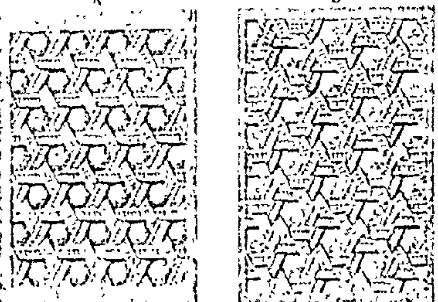
He also examined some of the earth from the site of Brāhmanābād, which is being taken away by the villagers in fertilising their fields. Considered as a manure it contained the following constituents :—

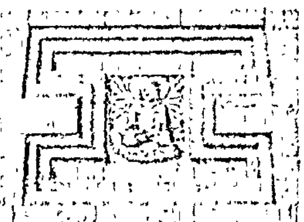
Nitrogen	·53 per cent.
Phosphoric Acid	·04 „
Potash	1·75 „

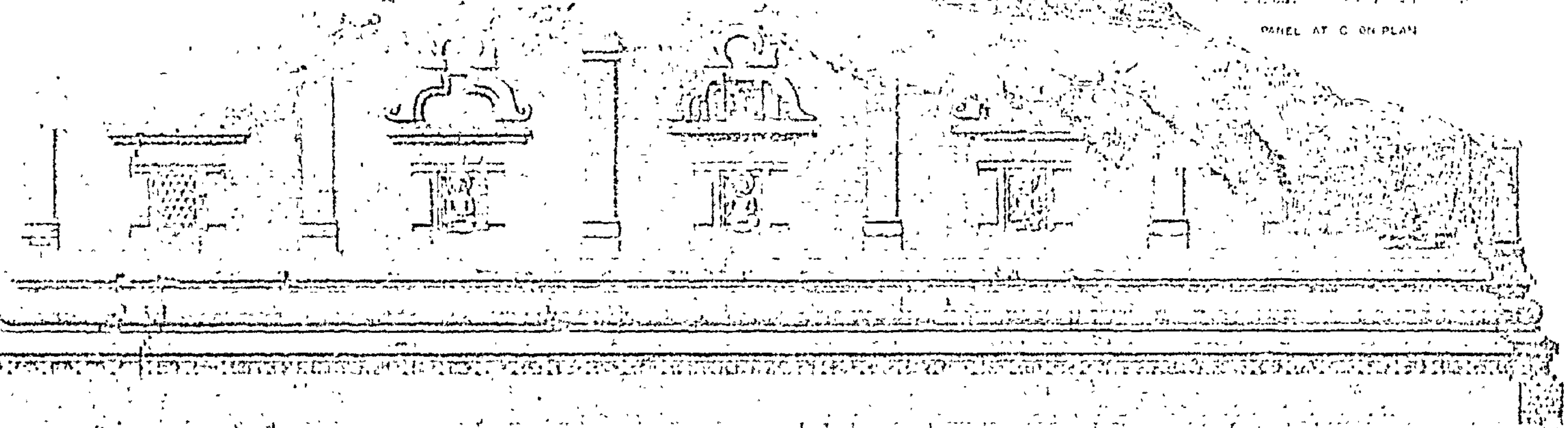
It is worth about one quarter as much as cattle manure. The soluble salts which it contained were :—

Calcium Sulphate	1·06 per cent.
Calcium Chloride	·80 „
Magnesium Chloride	·13 „
Sodium Chloride	3·27 „







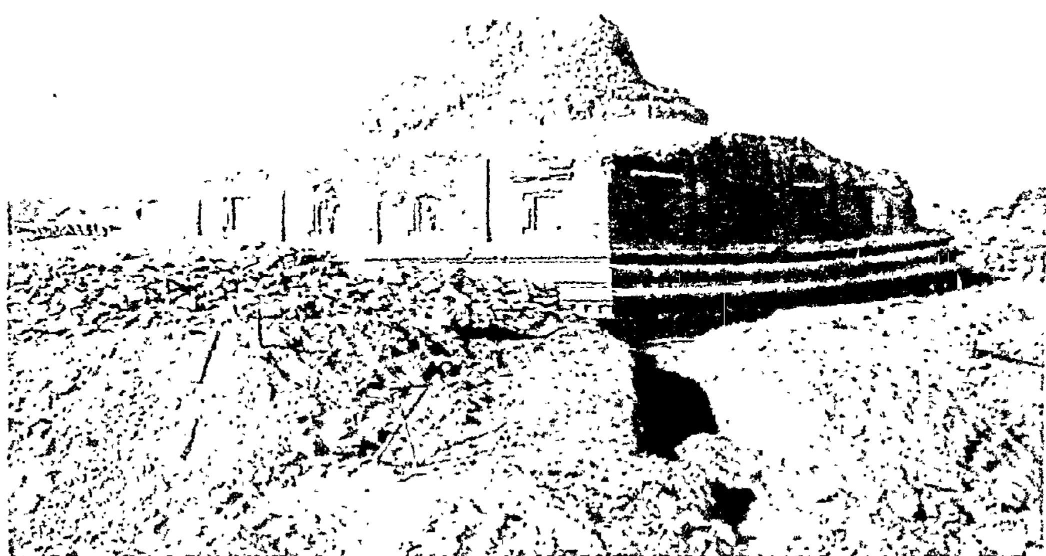


SIND—MIRPUR-KHAS Elevation of N. wall of stupa and details

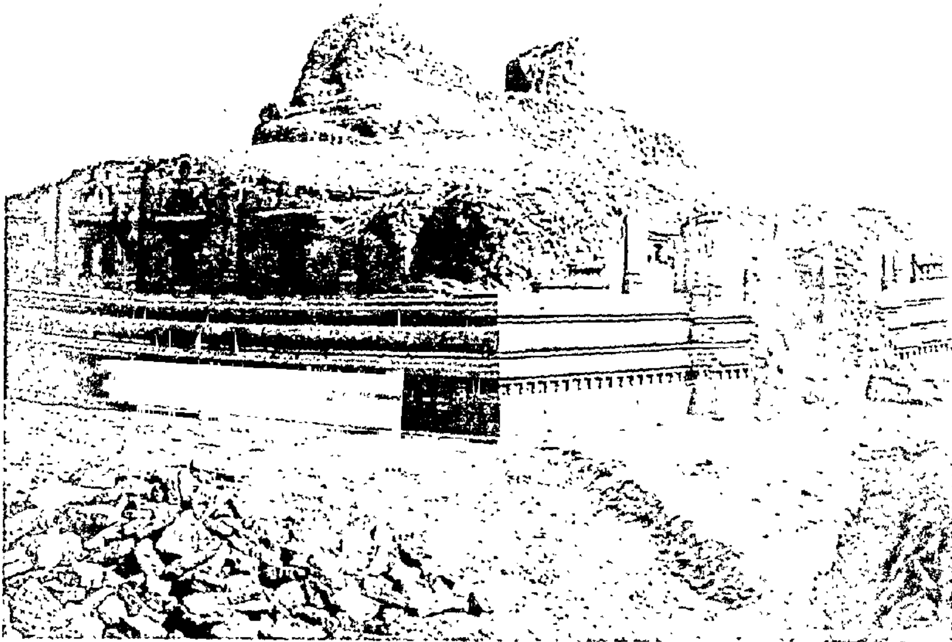
MIRPUR-KHAS STUPA, SIND.



(*a*) STUPA BEFORE EXCAVATION, FROM THE N.-E.



(*b*) STUPA AFTER EXCAVATION, FROM THE N.-E.



(*a*) NORTH-WEST CORNER OF STUPA.



(*b*) SHRINES ON WEST SIDE OF STUPA.

The images had all been painted, those of the Buddha having red robes and a golden coloured complexion, with black eyes and hair.

The west side of the basement of the *stūpa* was unlike the other three, and was probably the front of the building. In the middle of this side, which projects slightly, were found three little cell shrines (see Plate XXX), one occupying the centre and facing west, and one on each side of it, and at right angles to it, facing one another. In front of these, and common to the three, was a small antechamber. There was more construction still in advance of this, as shown by the foundations, but so ruined as to be now without shape or form. But on either side of this group of shrines the masonry seems to have run forward (westward), as if for a pair of staircases leading to the platform above the roof of the shrines and round the base of the circular tower. The shrines themselves are small, being about 4′ square. When the walls around were buttressed up, these appear to have been filled up solid, and from the way the only remaining portion of the roof of the central shrine has been crushed in, the filling up and buttressing was not commenced a day too soon. I excavated a portion of the filling-in from these shrines, sufficient to show that in the back or central one, at least, had been a bench or altar across the back, as if for an image. The side ones, no doubt, had the same, but were much ruined. In the central shrine, standing on the floor and leaning against the north side wall at A, was found a large slab of terra-cotta, bearing a male standing figure in relief. This I shall describe further on. It was embedded in the filling-in of brickwork. No other images were found; and if images of the Buddha ever rested in these shrines, they must have been removed previous to the buttressing-up of the building.

In the middle and south shrines (Plate XXXIII) we have portions of the roofing of each remaining. That of the middle one is constructed wagon-vaulted, by corbelling forward the bricks from the springing lines along the tops of the side walls to the apex, and dressing the undersides to a segmental curve. The vault runs from front to back. In the south shrine, however, we find something calculated to upset a hitherto very cherished belief that the true arch came into India with the Muhammadans, and was probably not known before their time. For here we have a fragment of an actual true arch, built with properly formed brick voussoirs, the bricks being built on edge. Fergusson does not exactly commit himself to this statement, but says:[1] "Although we cannot assert with absolute certainty that the Buddhists never employed a true arch, this at least is certain—that no structural example has yet been found in India, and that all the arched or circular forms found in the caves are, without one single exception, copies of wooden forms, and nowhere even simulate stone construction. With the Hindus and Jains the case is different; they use stone arches and stone domes which are not copied from wooden forms at all; but these are invariably horizontal arches [like that of the central shrine], never formed or intended to be formed with radiating voussoirs."

There are here portions of some six arch rings, part of an arched vault which formed the roof of this shrine. The top and bottom edges of the bricks are curved to the curve of the vault, while the other edges radiate towards a centre. The

[1] Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London 1899, p. 210. The statement quoted has been slightly modified in the new edition revised by Dr. Burgess, London 1910, Vol. I, p. 310. [Ed.]

bricks measure 1′ 4¼″ from corner to corner across the bottom, they are 10″ deep and 2⅞″ thick. I found one or two similar arch rings at Brāhmanābād, but being so possessed by the prevalent belief, I attributed them to the Arabs who built upon the old site.

The horizontal lintels of the doors of these shrines were of wood, some of which still remained, but thoroughly decayed and mostly reduced to powder.

At either end of the east wall, on the face (at B-B on plan), had been very large panels or niches, the sills only remaining, with a base of two of the flanking pilasters or pillarets. Under the sill, at the south end, was a band of decorated bricks with a little female figure holding a pot, shoulder high, repeated three times, at each end and in the middle. Between these large panels and the shrines were two smaller panels, one on each side, of peculiar outline, that on the north side holding a small image of a seated Buddha, whose hands are broken off, while that on the south side has been mostly destroyed.

The arched arrangement over the central Buddha image, on the north face, is similar to the façade of the Viśvakarma cave at Elura.[1] (Plate XXXI.) By placing a Buddha in the doorway below, in the latter, we would have a first-rate counterpart of the niche and arch on the wall. But it still more closely resembles, in some respects, the upper face of the front of the Buddhist structural temple at Tēr, the two being nearer together in point of time.[2] The little niche in the arch, with no meaning in the case of the *stūpa*, unless it held a small image, was the upper window in the case of the Elura and Tēr examples. Going a step further, the front of the thatched Toda hut is very similar to the upper façade of the Tēr Chaitya; nay, the whole upper structure, thick curved roof and all, seems to be but a copy of the hut of these aboriginals, which probably has not changed its shape or material for two thousand years.

In front of the three shrines was a great quantity of loose débris, which seems to have fallen from above; and irregularly embedded in this were found over a hundred unburnt clay votive tablets, of different sizes and patterns; and, scattered about amongst them, copper coins, thirty-six of which were recovered, but all as lumps of green verdigris in which it seemed hopeless to expect to find a copper core. These were all located in the débris about 6′ above the original ground or floor level in front of the shrines. But upon the ground level, to the left, in front of the central shrine door, was found a terra-cotta stamp for making such tablets.

The well which we sunk through the middle of the *stūpa* was continued until we reached a depth of 25′ from the summit of the mound, when, in the centre, as near as possible, we came upon a square area of kiln-burnt brickwork, about 4′ square. As the upper layers of bricks were removed, a little chamber in the middle, about 15″ square, revealed itself. (Plate XXXIV.) Its sides were set parallel with the sides of the *stūpa*. Within this reposed a stone coffer composed of two thick flat circular stones, roughly dressed to shape, about 13″ in diameter, and 5″ to 6″ thick. One formed the bottom, and the other the top or lid. In the centre of both was a cup-shaped hollow about 3″ in diameter, the lower one being 2½″, and the

[1] *Cf.* Fergusson, *op. cit.* p. 128, revised edition, Vol. I, p. 161.
[2] *Cf.* Fergusson, *op. cit.*, revised edition, Vol. I, p. 126.



(*a*) STONE COFFER IN BRICK CHAMBER.



(*b*) BASEMENT MOULDINGS OF WALLS.

upper one $1\frac{1}{4}''$ deep. Standing within this cavity in the lower stone was a small crystal bottle, while round it and upon the top of the coffer, outside, were sprinkled, amidst a quantity of white sand, from which they had to be sifted, a number of offerings consisting of coral beads (63), crystal beads, drilled and undrilled (7), two small crystals cut to simulate diamonds, each about half the size of a pea, very small seed pearls, most of them not much larger than a pin's head, and all drilled (30), four gold beads, two being ribbed melon-shaped and about three-eighths of an inch in diameter, one small gold wire ring, ten copper coins, some small lumps of charcoal, a few grains of wheat, and some other small odd beads and chips. The numbers in brackets are those recovered from the sand with which they were mixed. (Plate XXXV.)

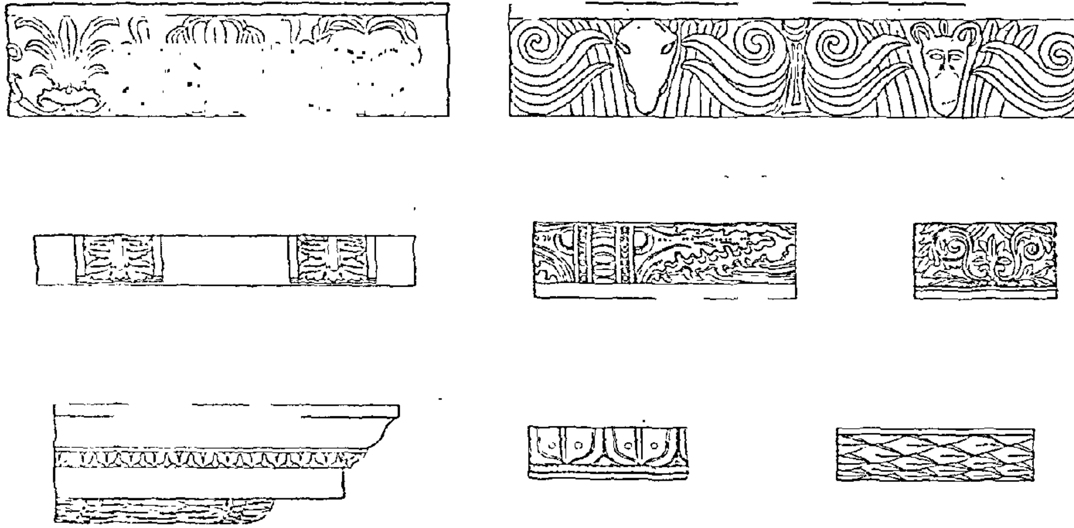
Upon the mouth of the crystal bottle was a small flat silver cap, much corroded and on the cap rested a copper finger ring, also corroded, the corrosion causing it to adhere to the cap so tightly as to break when being taken off. Inside the bottle was a small silver cylindrical case with slip-on lid, but so corroded that the lid came to pieces in taking it off. The case had been wrapped round with gold leaf, which was as fresh and bright as the day it was put on. This case measures $1''$ in length by $\frac{5}{16}''$ diameter, with a slip-on lid. When the lid was removed, and the case inverted over a clean sheet of white paper, a very minute substance about the size of a pin's head rolled out, together with a speck or two of dust. There was nothing else in the case. But within the crystal bottle, underneath the cases and not in the latter was found about an egg-spoonful of what appears to be brown funeral ash, some lumps of which have the texture and convex surface of charred bone. (Plate XXXVI.)

In each of the south-east and south-west corners of the relic chamber, between the stone coffer and the bricks, was a little earthen pot, with narrow mouth, filled with sand. The sand was removed and sieved carefully, but nothing was found in it. In the make of the pots the surface was grooved in narrow rings.

A considerable amount of the brick buttressing and fallen débris around the *stūpa* remained undisturbed by us. We merely removed sufficient to lay the walls bare. In the débris were found carved bricks in a great variety of patterns, as shown in the illustrations, and of very superior workmanship, so much so as to merit the term terra-cotta rather than brick. (Plate XXXVII.) Among the designs were found several varieties of the key pattern or Greek fret; indeed, Greek influence in ornamental details is very apparent in several of the very few fragments retrieved by us; and, in this respect, connects the work closely with that of the Indo-Greek remains of Gandhāra. I have compared Greek ornament as taken from Nicholson's *Principles of Architecture* with some of the carved bricks from the *stūpa* in the accompanying illustration. (Fig. 1.)

Two medallions, bearing the image of Kubēra, were found, and several square tiles with grotesque faces. (Plate XXXV.) From the number of tiles with the face shown on Plate XXXV it would appear that there must have been at least one whole string-course of them around the tower of the *stūpa*. A few fragments of pilaster capitals—the pilasters that formed belts around the tower—were recovered, and in Plate XXX I have endeavoured to reconstruct one of these capitals. The little image of a standing Buddha in the middle of the capital is found in Greco-Buddhist

examples,[1] and the capital itself is a lineal descendant of the Corinthian through Gandhāra.



GREEK ORNAMENT, FROM NICHOLSON'S "PRINCIPLES OF ARCHITECTURE". ORNAMENT FROM STUPA AT MIRPUR-KHAS, SIND.

Fig. 1.

There is little now left upon the spot to give us any clue to the original shape of the *stūpa*, but by comparing the little there is with what we know of other *stūpas*, it is not difficult to imagine the outline of the complete building. To begin with, sufficient remains to show that the lowest part of the structure was a great square basement, 53′ 6″ from corner to corner, and rising in its ruined state to a height of 14′ 6″. Allowing for missing mouldings above the capitals of the pilasters, the basement was probably about 18′ high. Upon this rose a cylindrical tower with domed top to about the same height as its diameter, namely, about 37′. This would give a total height of 55′, or as high as the square of the basement at ground level. The tower above the basement was probably decorated with one or more bands of pilasters, with image-niches between the pilasters, and numerous string courses and mouldings of sculptured brick. When complete, the dome was possibly crowned by some wooden erection in the shape of a great triple umbrella.

As previously stated, there were three images of the Buddha upon each of the three faces of the basement—the north, east and south. Of these nine, seven were in position when I uncovered the walls. Two were missing, *viz.*, one from the southern niche on the east side and the one just round the corner—the eastern one on the south side. Both of these are accounted for, as they were extracted by Mr. Woodburn as already noticed. Or, rather, he found a whole image and a head,[2] probably the body of the second was broken in removal.

All these images, which are about half life size, are seated cross-legged in the "meditative" attitude (*dhyāna-mudrā*), with both hands in the lap, one upon the other, with the palms upwards. (Plate XXXVIII.) The Buddha is represented in

[1] Fergusson, *op. cit.*, p. 173; revised edition, Vol. I, p. 214.

[2] They are illustrated in *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 44 ff.

some as seated upon a lotus and in others on a four-legged stool. His body is fully clothed with an ample robe which covers both shoulders and hangs in folds. The way the skirt of this robe fits his legs makes it look almost as if he wore trousers, and it would seem from the folds on the legs that he wears an under-garment which hangs lower than the outer robe. The end of the robe, in front, depends over the seat from under him. The robe covers both arms to the wrists. In all the figures, save one, the hair is of the short curly kind; in the exception, in the eastern image on the north side it is represented straight and dressed back from the front. (Plate XXXVIII, *c*.) Between the eyes, in most of the images, is a small circle to indicate the *ūrṇā*, one of Buddha's special marks, denoting enlightenment (*bōdhi*). As it is a grooved ring and not a protuberance, possibly some metallic button was attached. The knob (*ushṇīsha*) on the top of the head is present, though not very prominent. The ear-lobes are elongated, and the eyes, in some, are fairly open, while in others they are half closed. Behind the head is a decorated nimbus, alike in all except the straight-haired image, where, instead of a circular band of square and round lotuses, it has a scroll band of conventional leaves. All the images have been painted, and for this purpose they appear to have been covered with a thin egg-shell layer of very superior clay before baking. The complexion has been a wheaten or golden one, with black hair, eyebrows and pupils of the eyes. The robe has been painted a bright foxy red. The robe covering both shoulders proves clearly that the Buddha image of Sind, or, at all events, of the Mīrpur Khās *stūpa*, came from Gandhāra.

I have mentioned a smaller image on the west face of the *stūpa*, on the north side of the shrines, in a peculiarly designed frame (see Plate XXXI). There was a similar one on the south side of the centre, shown by the remains of a frame of like design. This image is a particularly good one, with the robe worn in the same way as in those described. He sits upon a lotus, and the background is made up of leaves spreading out from the back of the body all around.[1] The leaves have a flame-like shape. The eyes in this image are quite shut, the upper and lower lids meeting. The arms have been broken off from the elbows; they were probably placed in the lap, but it is impossible to make certain, as the fore-arms and hands have not been in contact anywhere with the rest of the image. There are no fractured surfaces upon the upturned feet or legs to show where they rested.

As the *stūpa* is in such a ruinous condition, and so little of it is left, I removed six Buddha images from the walls for safer custody. Exposed as they now would have been to the air and rains, the *kallar* with which each is more or less impregnated would soon cause their disintegration. With a Muhammadan population in close proximity they would also have been, in their isolated position, exposed to wanton damage. Three Buddha images were left, *viz.*, two on the east and one on the north face. Those which I removed will eventually be housed in the new Prince of Wales Museum in Bombay.

The clay tablets which we found, out in front of the west face, in the fallen débris, some 6′ above the original ground level, were all in unburnt clay.

[1] A Gandhāra image, with a similar background, may be seen illustrated in the *Journal of Indian Art*, Vol. VIII, plate 18, fig. 1. [The figure referred to by Mr. Cousens occurs on the pedestal of an image of the emaciated Buddha and probably represents the earth goddess. [Ed.]

(Plate XXXIX.) The manner of making these appears to have been this: a ball of fine kneaded clay was held in one hand while a seal mould was pressed into it with the other. Some of these balls of clay have the impression deep down within them. They are of different sizes varying from about 1½″ to 6″ in their greater length, for they are mostly oval in shape. Some have an impression of Buddha seated cross-legged with the right hand pointing downwards in the "witness" attitude (*bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā*), others have him seated in the European fashion with the legs hanging down and hands before the breast in the "Preaching" attitude (*dharmachakra-mudrā*). The robe is not shown very distinctly, but on some the ridge passing from the left shoulder down towards the right waist indicates that, unlike the older sculptures on the wall, the robe leaves the right shoulder bare. Many of the tablets, instead of an image of the Buddha, have representations of very elongated Burmese-looking *stūpas*—one, three, ten or a hundred being impressed on each tablet. The last are circular tablets, and the *stūpas* are arranged in rows, which, being small, look like rows of small screws standing on their heads. Under the Buddhas and *stūpas* is, in each case, the Buddhist formula *Yē dharmā*, etc., in letters of about the 7th or 8th century A.D.[1]

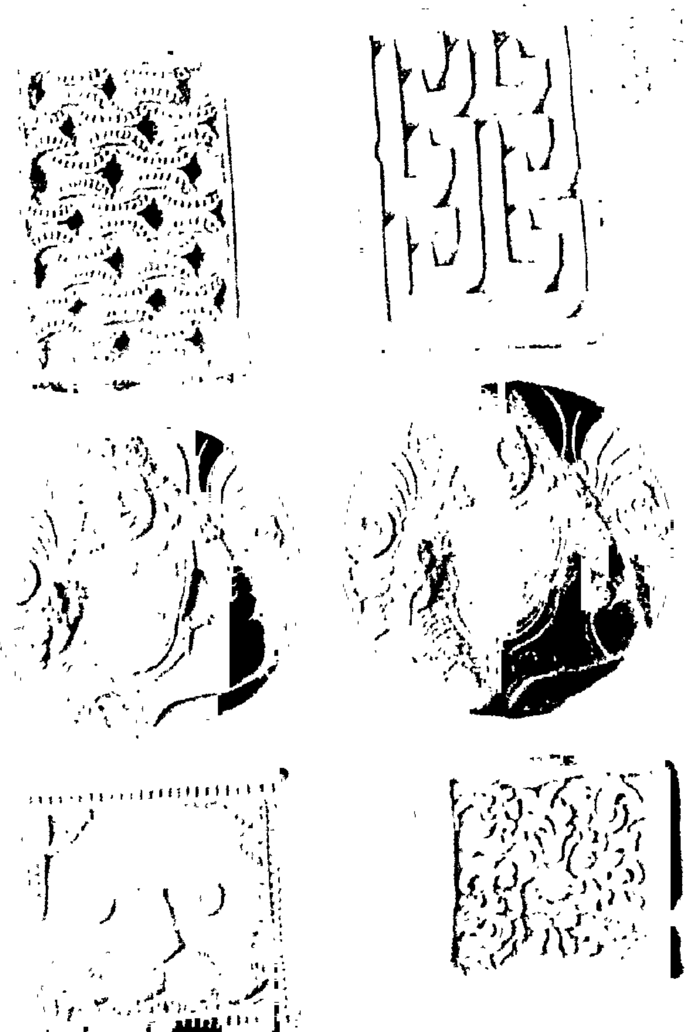
With these tablets were found about thirty-six copper coins which had evidently, with the tablets, been placed there as offerings. These were but round lumps of verdigris, but a much corroded core of copper was got from each, upon many of which were portions of Arabic inscriptions. Some had the four-leaved flower upon one side, from which, as well as from the letters legible, it is easy to identify them as coins of the early Arabs in Sind.[2] The position in which these tablets were found, and the Arab coins, prove that worship was performed and offerings were made at the *stūpa* after it was more or less ruined, and as late as the time of the early Arab occupation of the province (A.D. 715).

To return to the relics. The ten copper coins, found with the other offerings in the relic coffer, were but lumps of verdigris, and, except from their shape being rectangular, could hardly be distinguished from the coins found with the votive tablets. The extent of corrosion being practically the same in both cases shows clearly that the coins in the coffer, hermetically sealed, as it were, within the mound, to have attained that amount of corrosion must have been deposited there many centuries before those were placed on the outside, where they have been but a few feet below the surface, subject to wet and dry for the last nine hundred years at least.

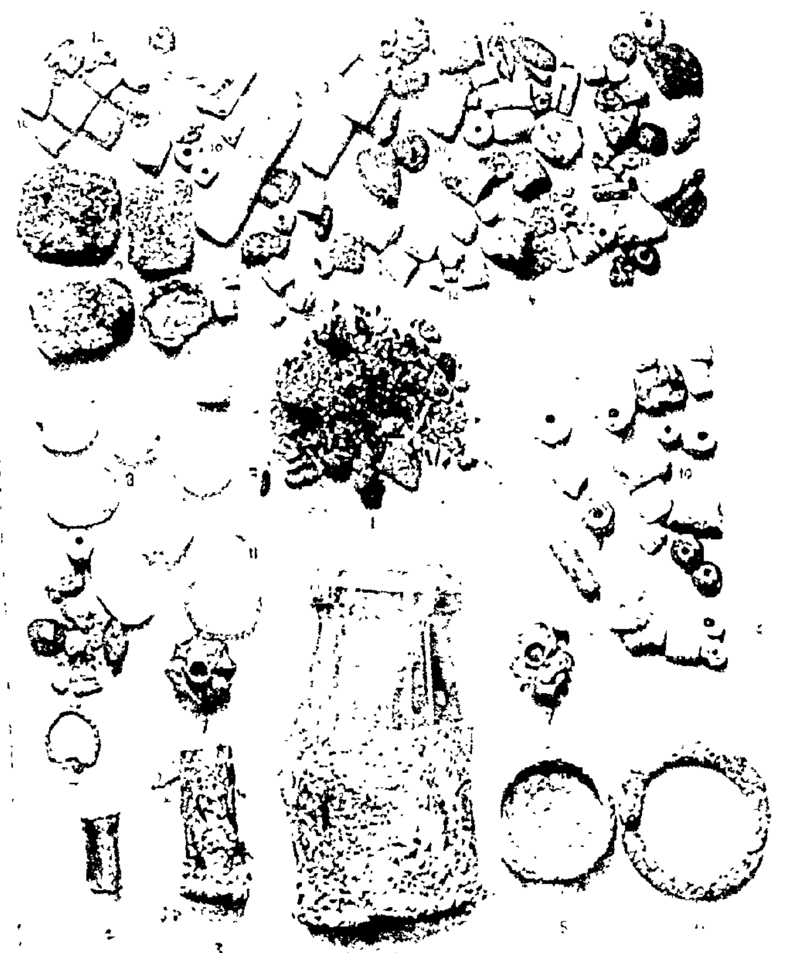
The crystal reliquary had been broken, and the bottom portion lost. It had then been mended by putting a tight-fitting case of silver reaching half-way up the phial on to the bottom. The lip around the top had also been chipped. This points to an accident having happened at or before the time of enshrining the phial, which probably fell from the hands of some person who was holding it. The fact of the new silver bottom having been provided, and a silver cap to take the place

[1] The tablet reproduced as figure *d* on Plate XXXIX more particularly refers to Buddha's first sermon in the Deer park of Benares, as is indicated by the two deer visible under the inscription. Figure *c* represents Buddha at the moment of his enlightenment (*bōdhi*), the foliage of the Bōdhi tree being shown over his head. [*Ed.*]

[2] Such coins I have already published in my account of Brāhmanābād-Mansūra in Sind, *A. S. R.* for 1903-04, plate XLVII.



(a) SCULPTURED BRICKS FROM THE WALLS.



(b) RELICS, RELIQUARY AND OFFERINGS.

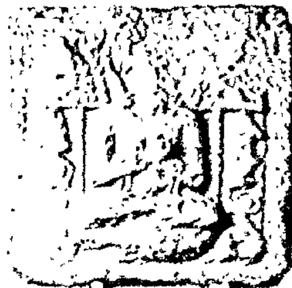
1. RELICS.
2. RELIQUARY.
3. SILVER CASE.
4. GOLD CASE.
5. CAP OF RELIQUARY.
6. COPPER RING.
7. GOLD RING AND BEADS.
8. CRYSTAL BEADS.
9. CORRODED COPPER COINS.
10. CORAL BEADS.
11. TWO CUT CRYSTAL JEWELS.
12. SEED PEARLS.
13. GRAIN HUSKS.

MIRPUR-KHAS STUPA, SIND.



(a) RELICS MAGNIFIED.

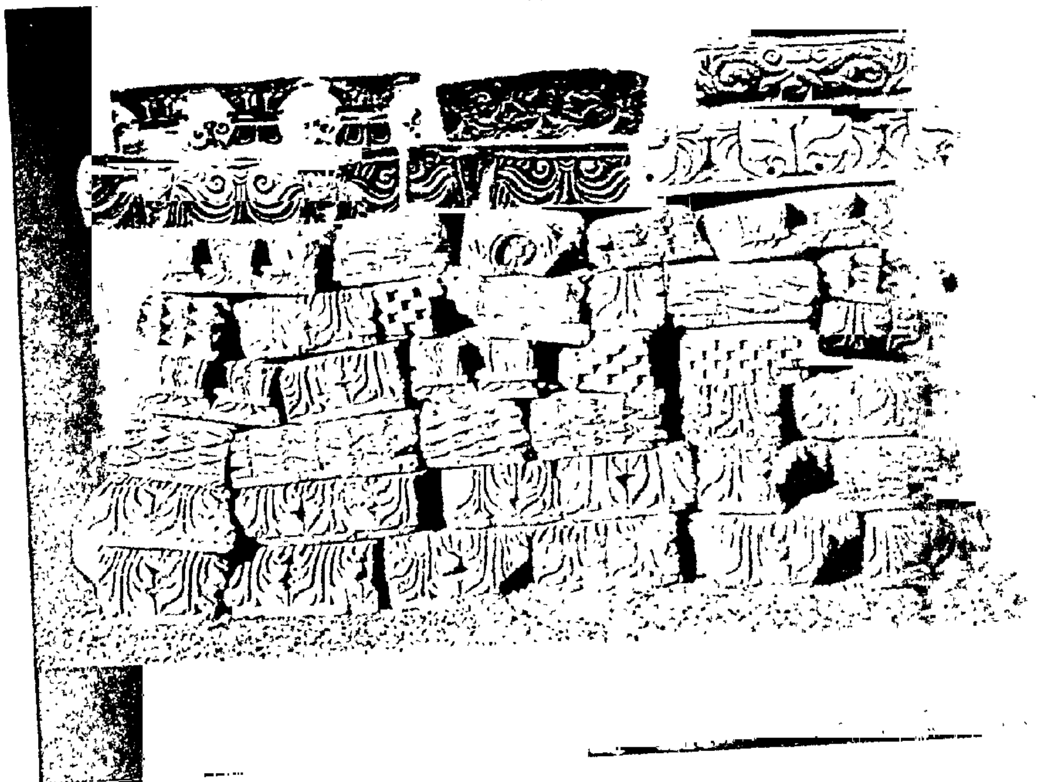




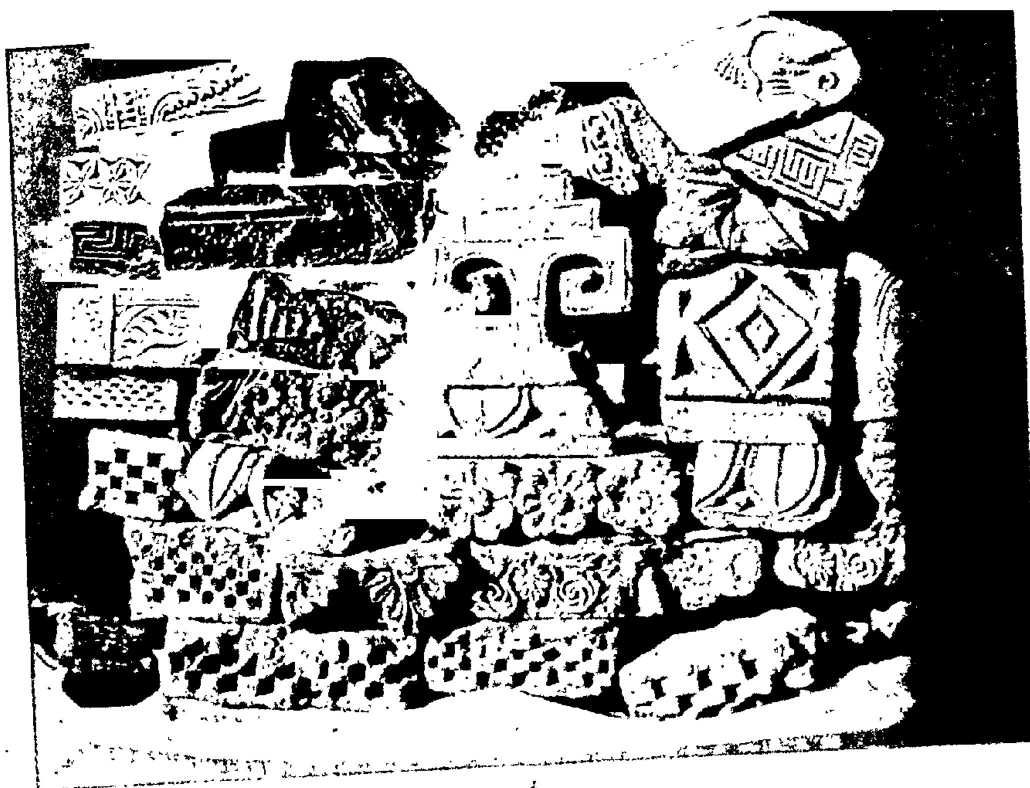


(b) SCULPTURES FROM WALLS

MIRPUR-KHAS STUPA, SIND.



a.



b.

SCULPTURED BRICKS FROM THE WALLS.

of a crystal stopper or lid, would lead one to suppose that this reliquary had held the relics already for so long a time that it was felt it would have been sacrilege to throw away the phial for a new one, even in its shattered condition. But as we did not find the fragments of the crystal receptacle with it, it is probable that the accident took place some time previous to its interment at Mīrpūr Khās. When placing the stone pot containing the inner caskets and relics into the coffer at the Boria *Stūpa* at Junāgadh[1] a somewhat similar accident seems to have taken place, for we found the fragments of the lower part of a stone pot, like the one in the coffer, about 4' from the latter, buried in the mound. I have already noted the discovery in 1859, by the Hon'ble Mr. James Gibbs, of a vase in the upper part of this *stūpa*, containing "some pieces of crystal and amethyst." Could these have been the fragments of the broken reliquary which, after it was found that they had been forgotten when the relics were closed up in the relic chamber, were subsequently placed in the earthen pot and buried higher up in the mound? In any case, it seems clear that the reliquary, and therefore the relics, existed long before the present *stūpa* was built over them. Is, then, the present *stūpa* a reconstruction of an older one—of one of the many built by Aśoka when he redistributed the relics of Buddha, in order that the actual bodily presence of the Great Teacher might pervade the land through all its length and breadth? If so, this would account for the very small relic, if relic it is, found in the gold case.[2]

It is recorded by Hiuen Tsiang (in the 7th century A.D.) that in his days there were several hundred *saṅghārāmas* in Sind, occupied by about 10,000 priests, and that they studied the Little Vehicle. He also adds that "when Tathāgata was in the world, he frequently passed through this country, therefore Aśōka-rāja has founded several tens of *stūpas* in places where the sacred traces of his presence were found. Upagupta, the great Arhat, sojourned very frequently in this kingdom, explaining the law and convincing and guiding men. The places where he stopped and the traces he left are all commemorated by the building of *saṅghārāmas* or the erection of *stūpas*. These buildings are seen everywhere."[3]

The silver case, holding the smaller gold one, was wrapped around with gold leaf, which even now is as bright and fresh as on the day it was used—gold leaf, too, as fine as any produced at the present day. If the small particle, found in the otherwise empty and clean gold case, which again was enclosed in the silver one, was accidental and counted for naught, it is difficult to understand why the silver case should have been so carefully enveloped in gold leaf. Those who applied gold leaf surely thought they were wrapping up something more than the mere cases! If we accept it as a relic, it must indeed have been very, very precious to be

[1] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LX, part I, No. 2, 1891.

[2] We are told that he opened up seven of the eight *stūpas* containing the relics of Buddha and redistributed them amongst 84,000 *stūpas* which he had caused to be built. Probably "84,000" is an exaggeration, so common in India, like the "thousand-pillared" halls, in none of which a thousand pillars ever existed or any number like it, and the *naulākhā* temples supposed to have nine lakhs of images disposed about them. I see no reason to doubt that Aśoka redistributed the relics, putting back again a smaller quantity into the opened *stūpas*, being so desirous of spreading them over the whole country for the easier worship of those in far away provinces.

[3] *Si-yu-ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World* (trans. Beal) Vol. II, p. 272. We know of seven *stūpas* for certain, viz., one at Thul Rukan, near Moro; one at Depar Ghangro, near Brahmanabad; one at Brahmanabad itself; one at Mīrpūr-Khās; one near Tando Muhammad Khan; and one near Jhirruck, and reports of other mounds which, upon examination, may turn out to be ruined *stūpas*.

such a mite, and hence the probability is that it was thought to be of the Buddha himself. The brown funereal ash and bits of calcined bone, about a small tea-spoonful, found in the bottle *under* the silver and gold cases, and not *in* them, are undoubtedly relics, and if the particle in the gold case is that of Buddha, the other is probably that of some famous local saint, perhaps Upagupta the patron saint of Sind in Aśōka's time, and the friend and erstwhile religious associate of that king. That it is not unusual to find relics of more than one individual in one *stūpa* is shown by the discovery of those of several great *Arhats* in four reliquaries, all inscribed, in the one *stūpa*, No. 2, at Sanchi.[1]

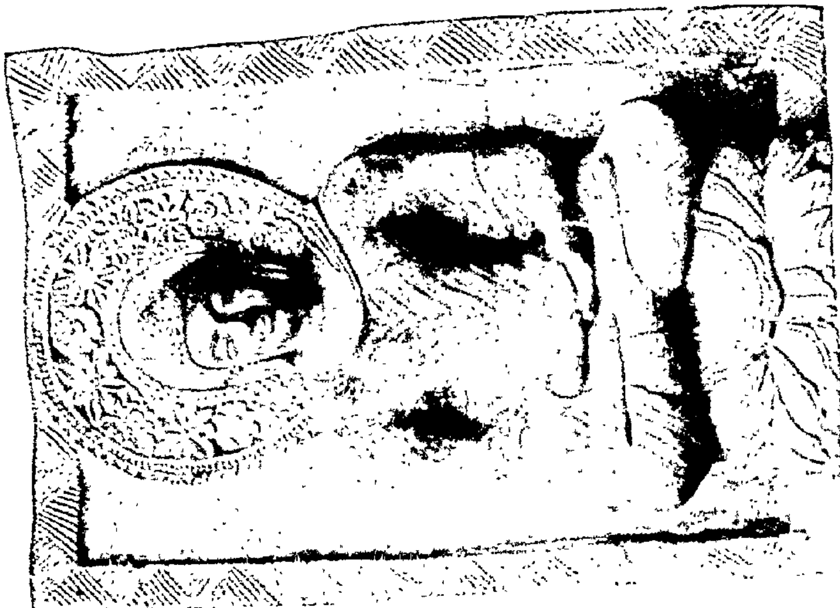
The statue slab found in the central shrine on the west face of the *stūpa* is very interesting and curious. (Plate XXXVIII, fig. *b*.) On digging out the core of brick buttressing, with which the cell had been filled, this slab, which measures 30½″ high by 12½″ across, was found standing upon the floor leaning against the north wall. The feet were broken off and were not found. The statue seems to be the portrait of some male person of note. It is not a Bōdhisattva, else it would have had a halo round the head, and would have been, in other respects, more like those images as we find them elsewhere. The figure is standing full to the front, resting upon the right leg; the right hand, raised almost to the level of the centre of the breast, holds a small lotus flower offering, while the left rests flat upon what appears to be a wallet slung loosely round his waist and depending upon his left thigh. He is not, as is so often seen in such figures, grasping a knot of his garment. His clothing is simple in the extreme, and is just such as one sees on Jains as they enter their shrines to do worship, being, apparently, but a single waist-cloth whose folds hang to the back on the left side.[2] The upper portion of the body from the waist, and the legs below the knees are bare. He wears an elaborate headdress arranged in rows of horizontal curls, from underneath which bunches of vertical curls fall upon each shoulder. The statue has been painted. The complexion was "golden" or wheat colour, the waist-cloth, which, though scanty, is rich, was red, while the wig, eyebrows, pupils, and moustache were black. I am inclined to think the image represents the builder of the *stūpa*. This would account for this particular image, though loose, not having been removed from the shrines, while others, which they held for worship, were taken out, when the buttressing-up of the *stūpa* became necessary. That the shrines held Buddha images, or some images for worship, is shown by the remains of a shallow altar against the back wall of this central cell. The Buddha images, already described, in the walls, were permanently built in and could not be taken out without breaking, and thus still further weakening the walls.

Taking all circumstances into consideration I cannot see how the *stūpa* can be ascribed to a later date than A.D. 400. It may be earlier. It is probable that it is a reconstruction of a ruined one formerly erected under Aśōka's orders, and possibly to contain a relic of the Buddha, the other relics being put into the bottle at the time of the reconstruction of the *stūpa*. But of course this is pure surmise. The fact, however, remains, that the sites of what were once Buddhist monasteries surround the

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[1] Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 285.

[2] It seems to me that the figure is dressed in two garments: an upper garment held round the waist by means of a girdle and a waist-cloth, the edges of which are visible over the knees under the upper garment. [*Ed.*]



(a) BUDDHA IMAGE FROM EAST WALL.

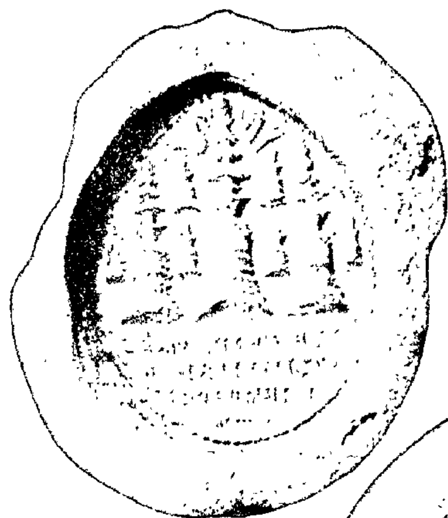


(b) IMAGE FOUND IN SHRINE ON WEST SIDE.

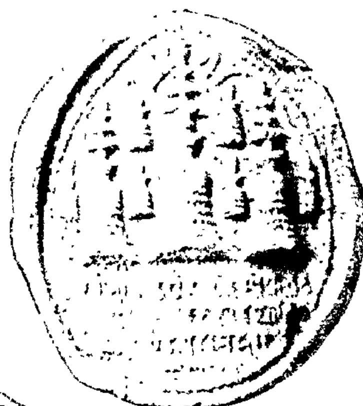


(c) BUDDHA IMAGE FROM NORTH WALL.

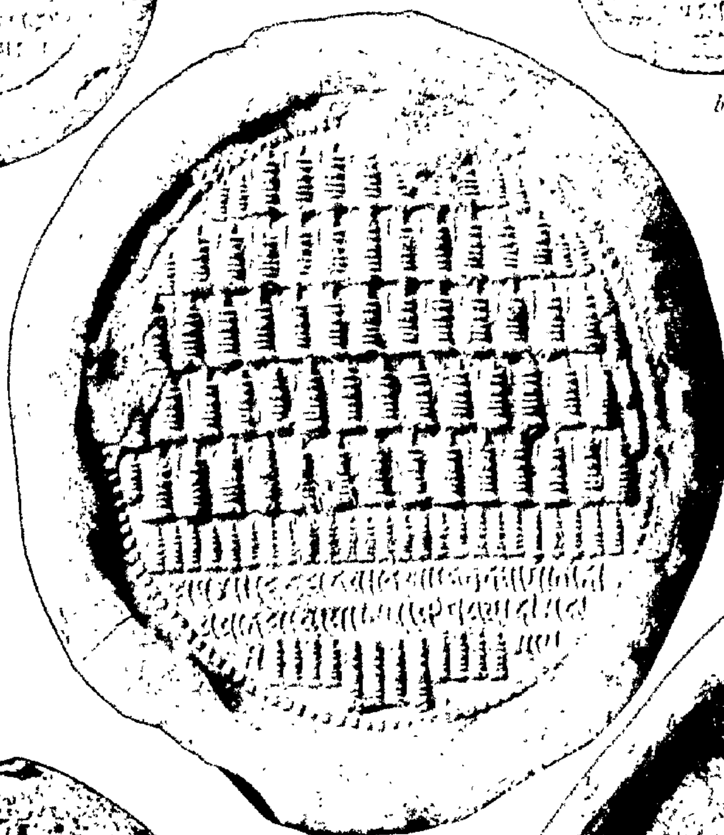
MIRPUR-KHAS STUPA, SIND.



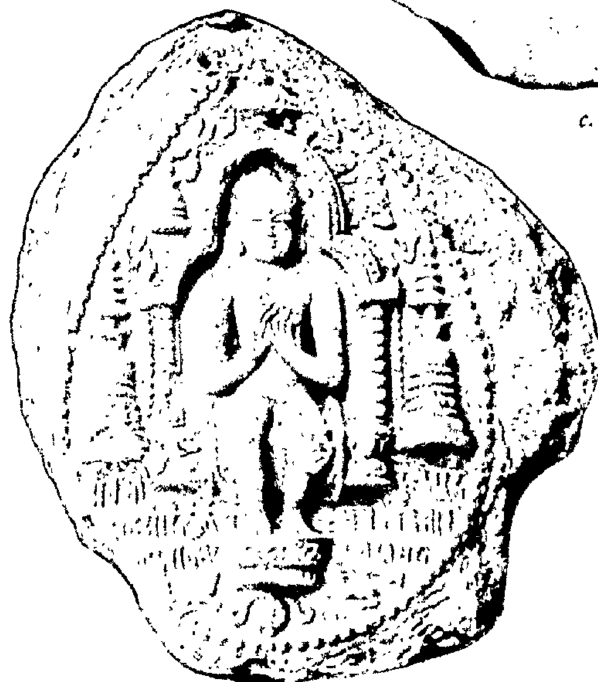
a.



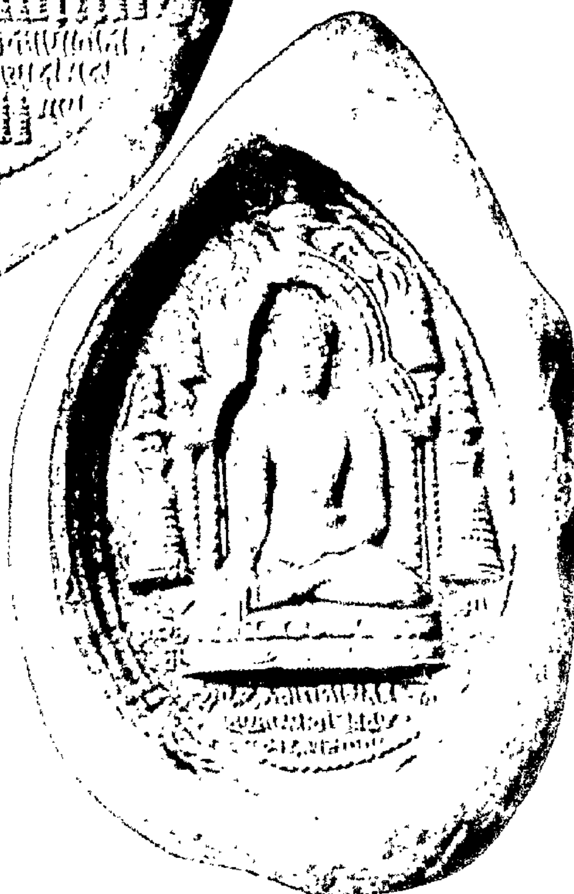
b.



c.



d.



e.

stūpa. Compare the plan of the wall trenches, from which the bricks have been removed (Fig. 2) with the plans of Gandhāra monasteries.[1]

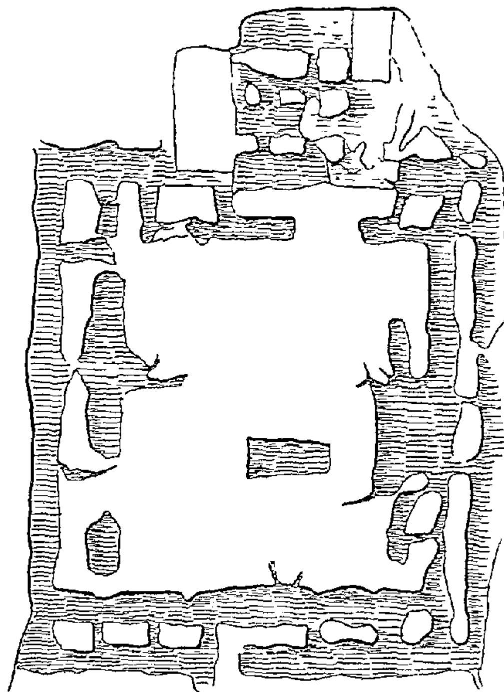


Fig. 2.

This *stūpa* was not an isolated building of this period, for, from a comparison of the remains of sculptured brick, the *stūpas* of Thul Rukan near Moro, Depar Ghāngro[2] near Brāhmanābād, Tando Muḥammad Khān and Jherrick would seem to have been built about the same time; but none of these have such an extensive site of surrounding monasteries as the Mīrpūr-Khās *Stūpa.*

In dealing with the carved brickwork of the Depar Ghāngro *Stūpa* I wrote:[3] "The ornament was carved upon the moist clay with a sharp tool and was not moulded in a shape. It is of the same character as that found at Jamāl-Garhī in the Yūsufzai country, almost on the borders of Kashmīr, near Peshāwar, which General Cunningham, in the fifth volume of his Reports, called the Indo-Corinthian style, and which he thinks was practised in that region in the beginning of the Christian era. General Haig says:[4] 'This place [*i.e.*, the Buddhist settlement of Sāwandi] is men-

[1] *Cf.* Fergusson *op. cit.* Revised Edition, p. 171., Vol. I, p. 212.
[2] See article on Brāhmanābād-Mansūra, *A. S. R.* for 1903-04, p. 139, plate L. and fig. 5.
[3] *Cf. A. P R.* for the year ending the 30th June 1897, p. 19.
[4] *J. R. A. S.* (N. S.) Vol. XVI, p. 292.

tioned in the legends of the "Mujmal-al-tawáríkh," as having been built by the King of Kashmír during an expedition to Sindh. The legend is full of absurdities, but we may perhaps safely infer from it the antiquity of Sáwandi.'

"This statement may not be far wrong. About the middle of the 7th century, Chach paid a visit to a Buddhist devotee in the vicinity of Brāhmanābād when the latter complained of the 'temple' (*stūpa* ?) and monastery falling into a state of disrepair due to the wear of time. If we take it the place had been in Buddhist hands continually from the time of its establishment to that time, and had not fallen into disrepair from neglect, the wear must have been very slow and gradual, so that we are forced to put back the building of the *stūpa*, with that of Thul Mīr Rukan to the early centuries of the Christian era, but the want of sufficient data prevents any very approximate estimate of its age being made as yet. The very same moulded or carved bricks as are found at these two places were found by General Cunningham at Shorkot in the Panjāb about 60 miles north-east of Multān, and these he likens to the work on Yūzufzai remains. He found letters and writing on the bricks, being instructions to the builders as to the positions they were to occupy. I have two fragments from Thul Mīr Rukhān with parts of letters upon them. The patterns, as figured by him in his Report Volume V, are identical with those in Sind. The Shorkot bricks, judging from the style of letters upon them, he places from A.D. 79 to 319. A thorough search might discover a string of Buddhist settlements marking the route of the Kashmirian army, which perhaps marched as far as the seashore, for in Sind we know of old *stūpas* at Mīrpur Khās and Tando Muḥammad Khān."

A great deal of excavation work, which, until lately, was more or less impossible owing to lack of funds, remains to be done in Sind, which may throw a great deal of light upon the Buddhist period in that province. Thul Rukān might be further explored, and the hopeless-looking ruin of Depar Ghāngro would probably repay further research. The *stūpa*, the core of which is practically intact, 6 miles north by west of Tando Muḥammad Khān, should certainly be excavated at once. There are many other promising sites in the north of Sind and the delta.

HENRY COUSENS.

EXCAVATIONS AT MAṆḌŌR.[1]

WHAT little is known of the history of Maṇḍōr, the ancient capital of Mārwār, is to be found in the Report of the Archæological Department for the year 1905-06. The old name of the city was *Maḍḍōdara* according to one inscription,[2] and *Māṇḍavyapuradurga* according to another.[3] It was situated on a range of low hills, locally known as Bhaumsēn, at the foot of which stands the modern village of Maṇḍōr. The only ancient remains in this village that deserve notice are a ruined mosque and a gateway of the Muhammadan period. The prayer chamber of the mosque is supported on stone columns, all of which are still standing, though the back wall is much dilapidated. A little to the right of the *miḥrāb* is a broken slab built into the wall, the Persian inscription on which records that the mosque was founded in the reign of Sulṭān Fīroz Shāh. This Fīroz Shāh is manifestly the Tughlaq prince of that name, who ruled from A.D. 1351 to 1388. The slab does not occupy its original position, nor is it known what this position was.

About half a mile to the east of the village are two interesting relievos cut in the rock. One of them, approximately 8½' long and 1½' high, contains a row of nine figures. (Plate XL, *a*.) The four-armed corpulent figure at the proper right end is that of Gaṇēśa, the remaining eight representing the eight divine mothers (*ashṭa-mātaraḥ*) of the Brahmanical cult. Third from the proper right is Vaishṇavī, the female energy of Vishṇu. She has four arms, and in the lower left one holds a conch. Next to her comes Māhēśvarī with a bull standing behind her—the vehicle of her male counterpart, Śiva. Then follows a figure of Brāhmī, accompanied by a goose. The second figure from the proper left is Aindrī, with the elephant Airâvata, the vehicle of Indra, at her right side; and by her side is Chāmuṇḍā sitting on a

[1] For the description which follows of the excavations at Maṇḍōr in Rajputana, my assistant, Pandit Daya Ram Sahni, is largely responsible. These excavations were planned by myself and much of the work was carried out under my personal supervision, but, before it could be finished, I was called away to a distant part of India and had to leave it to my assistant to complete the clearance of the site and to measure up the structures which we had unearthed. I have not since had an opportunity of checking his measurements or his notes, but I have no doubt that they have been made with the care and accuracy which he usually displays. *J. H. M.*

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 280, line 13.

[3] *J. R. A. S.* 1894, p. 5, line 6.

human corpse and wearing a garland of human skulls. The remaining three figure are Kaumārī, Vārāhī and Nārasiṁhī, but, their attributes being wanting, they cannot be individually identified.

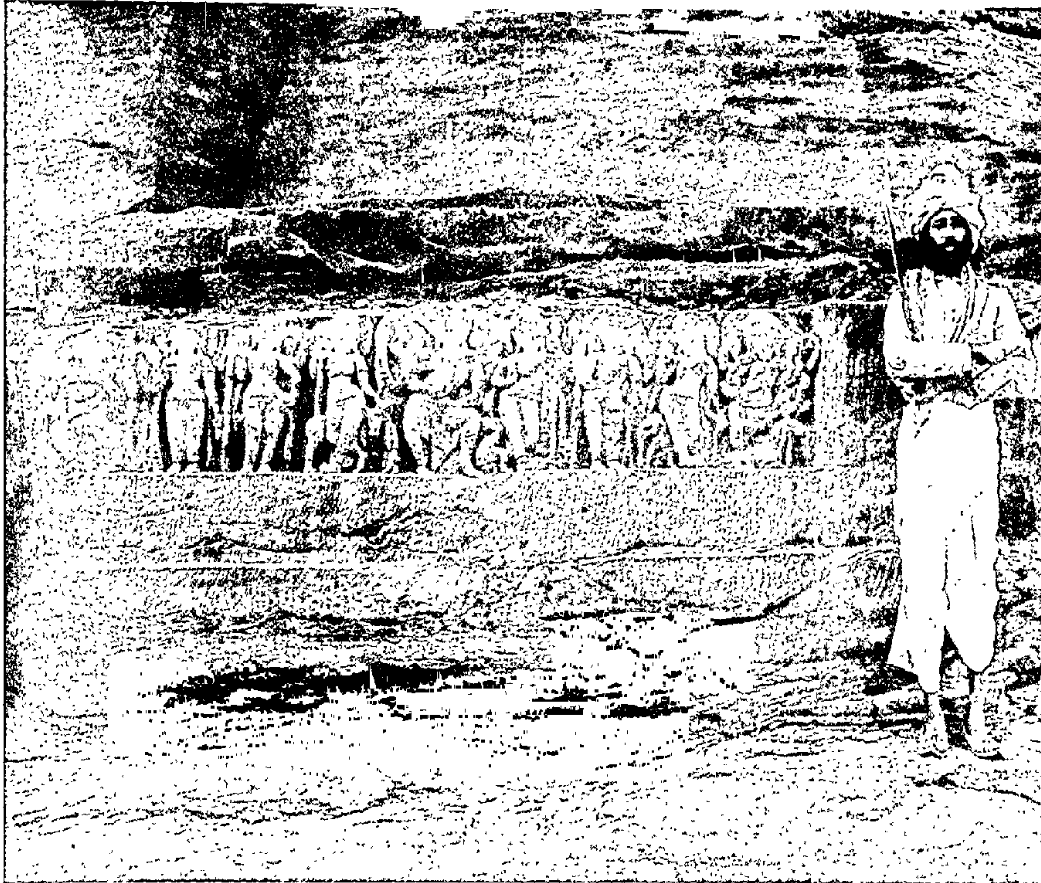
The other relief is cut in the rock close by. It consists of a rectangular niche about 2½′ high and 2′ wide, with an elaborate ornamental border all round, in which is a four-armed figure sitting cross-legged in the manner of Sūrya, the Sun-God. All the four hands, however, are broken, and it is not possible to identify the figure with certainty. The style of the carving indicates the 7th or 8th century as the date of the relief.

The old city of Maṇḍōr spread over the low hills from the modern village as far north as the group of cenotaphs belonging to the Mārwār Queens, and from the Nāgādri river on the east for over a mile in a westerly direction, to where a small remnant of the city wall is still existing. No remains of private dwellings now remain; for they were carried off by Mahārāja Ba<u>kh</u>t Singh, about the middle of the 18th century, and used in the construction of the ramparts of Jodhpur [1]. This being so, it is not a little surprising that the castle, which dominates the eastern part of the plateau overlooking the Nāgādri, has escaped destruction. Its walls, though badly damaged and partly buried beneath their own débris, still rise to a considerable height on the north and west sides. On the east, and to some extent on the south also, they were built at the edge of a precipitous scarp and have fallen. They were constructed of massive blocks of stone, their width averaging some 24 or 25 feet, and were further strengthened and protected by bastions on the outside, of which several are still preserved on the north and west sides. Along the curtain of the walls these bastions are either square or rectangular in plan; but the one at the north-west angle is circular, and it is probable that those at the other three corners were of the same form. The gateways are hidden under the fallen débris, and their position cannot now be ascertained. The west wall is pierced, near its southern extremity, by an opening, of which only the stone lintel is now visible. This was regarded by Mr. Garrick [2] as a gateway; but it is so low that it can hardly have been anything but a drain, and in support of this view it may be remarked that a few yards to the west of the opening a channel is still to be seen, which carried off the drainage of the castle. The main approach to the castle, as well as to the city, is still well defined. It is a broad paved causeway which ascends the plateau a little to the north of the modern village of Maṇḍōr, and after passing the south-west angle of the Fort runs alongside the moat on its west side as far as the circular bastion at the opposite corner. Beyond this point it is not traceable.

The date of the castle's foundation is unknown. The Jodhpur city wall inscription of Bāuka (Saṁ. 894) records that an ancestor of the king named Rajjila acquired Māṇḍavyapuradurga with the help of his brothers and built a wall (*prākāra*) in it. Rajjila and his brothers flourished ten generations before Bāuka, *i.e.*, about the 6th century A.D. It is possible that the wall referred to is the rampart of the Fort, though, in the absence of more definite evidence, it is difficult to be

[1] Apart from definite local tradition, this is evidenced by the fact that the inscription of Bāuka of Saṁ 894, originally set up at Maṇḍōr, is built into the city wall of Jodhpur. Cf. *J. R. A. S.*, N. S., Vol. XXVI, 1894, p. 1.

[2] *A. S. R.*, XXIII, p 84.



a.



b.

certain on the point. A search made among the heaps of stones covering the wall revealed a number of inscribed slabs, but they are all later than the 11th century A.D.

Of the buildings inside the castle the majority are of a still later date, and are relatively well preserved. One of these buildings is a square structure, some 75 yards along each side and about 18 feet high. It has a flat roof and is divided into two halves by a narrow passage. The western half is blocked up. The other half is a gloomy, pillared hall, containing a rude painting of Nāhaḍasvâmi, *i.e.*, Nāhaḍarāo, who according to the *khyātas* was the last Pratīhāra ruler of Maṇḍōr. To the north of this structure is a group of edifices with flat roofs supported on low columns. Their purpose is not apparent; but adjoining them on the east side is another building which was undoubtedly a Jaina temple. It consists of a small double-storeyed cella or shrine with a *sabhāmaṇḍapa* in front. On the lintel of the doorway leading to the shrine are figures of four Tīrthaṅkaras, while eight others are carved on the *vēdi* inside. In this temple they say that there was once a large inscribed slab, which now lies buried beneath the débris of a portion of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*. The temple faced towards the east, on which side there still exists a broad approach.

But the most interesting objects in the castle are two elaborately sculptured monoliths (Plate XLIV, *b*), which protrude from a large mound occupying the south-east corner, and rising somewhat more than 30 feet above the average ground level. These monoliths[1] belonged to a fine *tōraṇa*, which was intact in the time of Colonel Tod. They are referable to the Early Gupta period, and it was hoped that whatever remains lay concealed in the mound behind the columns, would prove to belong to the same epoch. This expectation, it may at once be said, was not realised; though the excavation of the mound was well repaid by the discovery of a later Brahmanical temple built on a quite unusual plan. The temple consists of a *sanctum* perched on the summit of three high terraces which diminish in size towards the top and are ascended by flights of stairs on the east, north and south sides. The *sanctum*, which is the earliest part of the building, must have been erected in the 7th or 8th century A.D., and was restored and enlarged during the 9th or 10th century, and again in the 12th century A.D. It is a small chamber, 19′ square on the outside and 9′ 8″ on the inside. The walls, which are still standing to a height of some 8 feet, measure 4′ 8″ in thickness, the core being of rough rubble, with both faces well finished. The blocks are held together by iron clamps only, without cement or mortar of any kind. On the outside, the walls are enriched with bold mouldings and relieved on the north, west and south faces by projections, 9′ 4″ broad and some 10″ deep. The mouldings are identical on every side. Of the five courses which make up the present height of the walls the two lowest consist of well-dressed blocks without any carving. Above them is a bold torus, which, along the face of the projections, is replaced by a dentil-like row of plaques. The latter are adorned with foliage and other devices executed with considerable skill and resembling in style the sculptures on the Dhamēkh Tower at Sārnāth. The course above is ornamented with shallow niches with *kīrtimukhas* or richly plumaged birds between. (Plate XLII, *a*.) For the most part the niches are empty, but those on the

[1] Cf. *A. S. R.* 1905-06, pp. 136 ff.

north side contain either human heads or rosettes. The uppermost course is composed of more massive blocks, with triangular decorations near its base and a torus moulding at the top. The carving on this course is much inferior to that in the lower courses, and there can be no doubt that it was added in the 12th century, when the temple was largely renovated. Only two of the blocks belonging to this course were found *in situ*; the remainder had fallen and were restored to their places.

On the east side, all the courses of the early wall terminate at distances of 3 2″ from the angles, the space between them having been occupied in the 7th or 8th century A.D. by a doorway, which was rebuilt in the 12th century, the date to which the existing jambs are to be ascribed. The width of this doorway is 3′ 6″. On the inner face of the pillar near the south-east angle of the shrine is a short illegible inscription written in characters of the 12th or 13th century. Near this point two lintels were found, but neither of them appears to belong to this door. One of them, measuring 3′ 4″ long, is divided into five spaces. In the middle space is sculptured the figure of a man with a woman in his lap, who is thrusting from her another man armed with a dagger. In the next panel on the right is a man cutting off the left hand of a woman with a dagger, while the end panel is occupied by a stalwart male figure, four-armed, and the panel at the opposite end by a love scene.

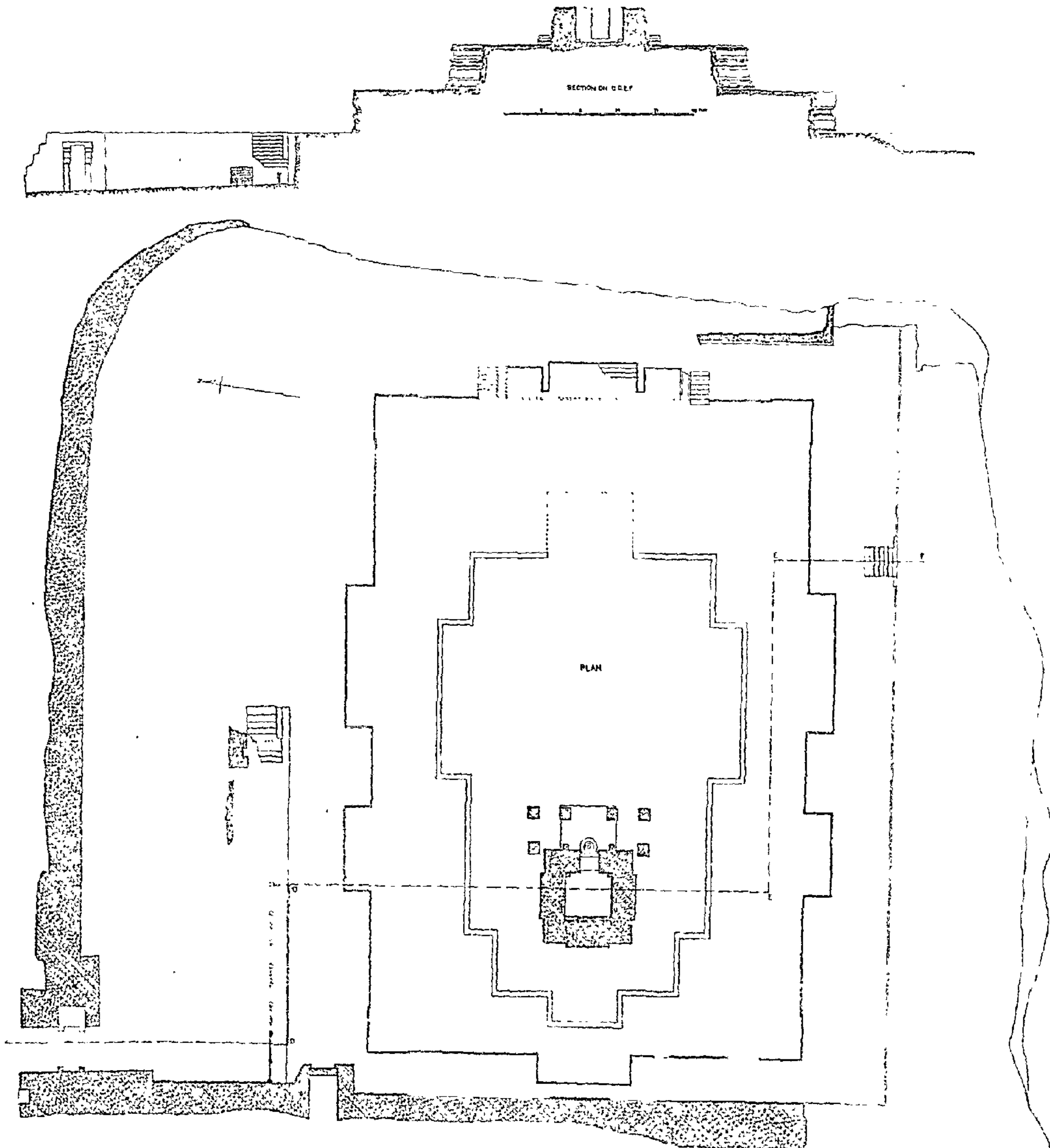
In front of the door is a circular step (*ardhachandra*) cut into the form of an elaborate lotus flower, which appears to have been added in the 12th century A.D. Under it there came to light a stone dais, measuring 12′ by 8′ 8″, which no doubt belonged to the original shrine. Whether at one time it supported a porch, could not be ascertained.

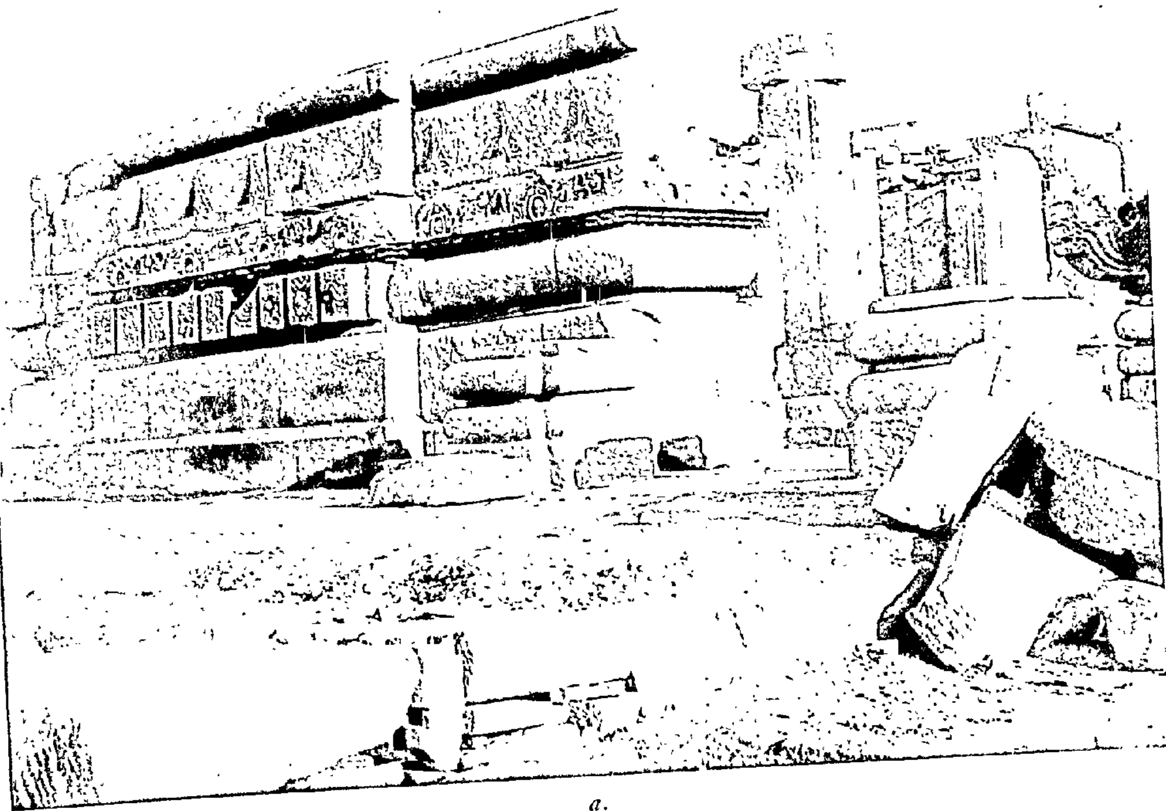
As to the precise shape of the superstructure it can only be surmised, for nearly all the stones which composed it had been carried away for use in later buildings, though from the few that turned up here and there in the débris it seemed manifest that the *sanctum* had originally been surmounted by a *śikhara*. One of these stones was a finial, about one foot high, of the ordinary *āmalaka* form. Another, of the same height, was carved to represent a human face and had been used perhaps as a terminal to one of the faces (*bhadras*) of the spire. (Plate XLIII, 2.) A third block, which was found lying on the floor of the shrine, was ornamented with a conventional lotus and no doubt belonged to the ceiling, which appears to have been constructed on the usual trabeate system. And among other pieces were portions of several miniature *śikharas* which had originally been ranged in groups against the sides of the central spire.

The floor of the *sanctum* was paved with stone slabs, and on it there stood five pedestals of *śiva-liṅgas*, one in each of the corners and one in the centre. The *liṅgas* themselves were not discovered. A sixth pedestal, measuring 2′ 1″ long by 10½″ broad and 4½″ high and intended for an image, was built against the middle of the west wall. The presence of the *liṅga* bases proves that at the time when the temple was deserted it was in the hands of the Śaivaites, though at an earlier date, as we shall see later on, it seems to have been dedicated to Vishṇu.

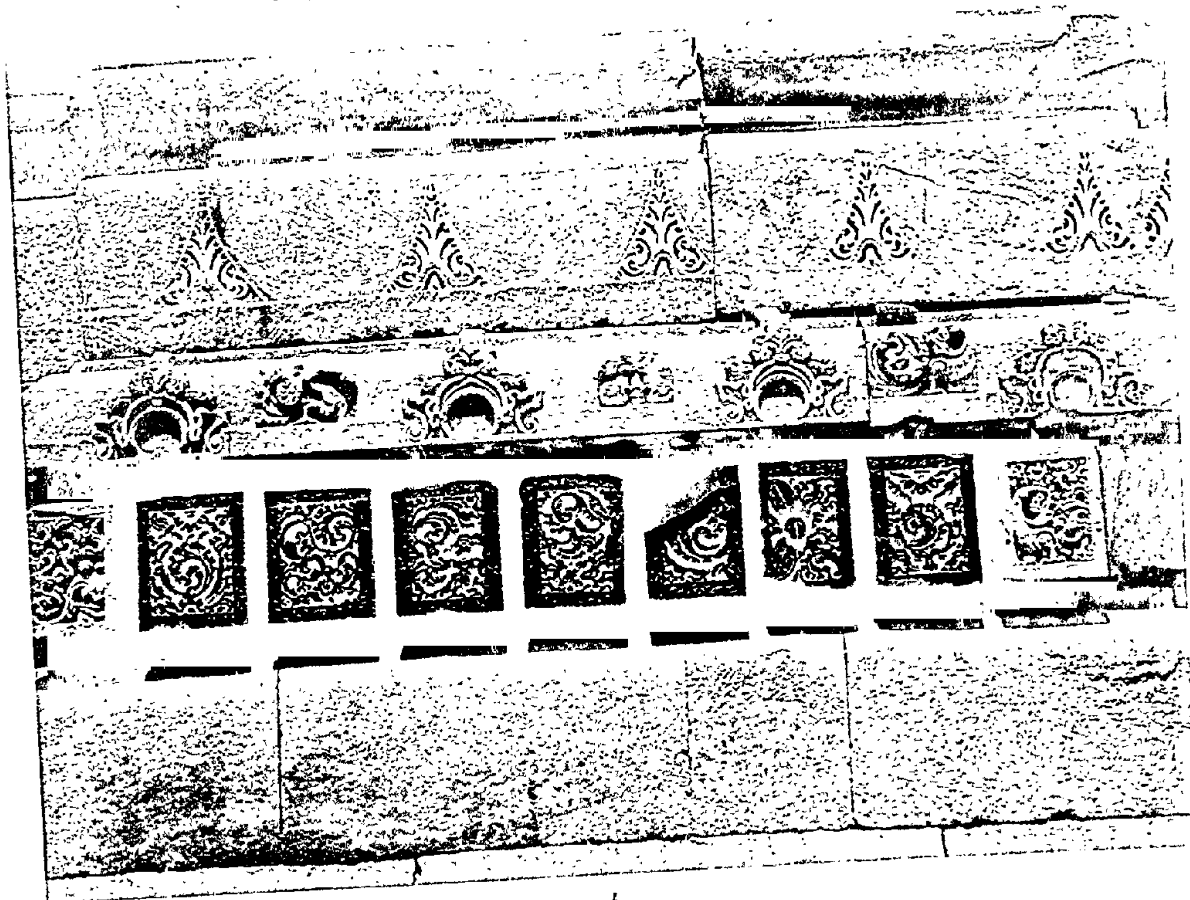
In the 9th or 10th century A.D. there appears to have been added to the shrine an antechamber or *maṇḍapa*, of which the principal remains are six broken

TEMPLE EXCAVATED AT MANDOR





a.



b.

columns found lying among the débris in front of the shrine or on the lower terraces. The columns, as may be seen from the specimen illustrated in Plate XLIII, 1, are elaborately decorated with bands of musicians, *kīrtimukhas*, atlantes, floral designs and other motifs. Besides these columns several relievos were discovered amid the same débris, which are assignable to the same period and which were probably used to decorate the walls of the *maṇḍapa*. One of these (Plate XLIII, 3) illustrates the fifth or Vāmana *avatāra* of Vishṇu, which he undertook in order to humble the pride of the demon Bali. In the proper left lower corner stands Vishṇu in the form of a corpulent dwarf, with an umbrella over his head, while before him is the demon, pouring water on his right hand, as a token of his gift of three paces of land. Then the dwarf is seen in his Virāṭ form, his left leg raised on high, as he spans the three regions with his two mighty steps, while the demon clings to his right leg, in vain endeavour to restrain him. When, so the story goes, the god asked space for his third step, Bali offered his own person; whereat Vishṇu was so pleased that he made him Lord of the Pātāla. This sculpture is of particular interest as showing that in the 9th or 10th century A.D. the shrine was consecrated to the worship of Vishṇu. Among other carvings that were found in the same heaps of débris the following also deserve notice:—a broken lintel with a figure of Sūrya (Plate XLIII, 6); the bust of a well executed female figure (Plate XLIII, 7); the head of a *yōgin*, who is counting the beads of a rosary (Plate XLIII, 4); and the lower half of a small female figure carrying a child on her right hip (Plate XLIII, 5).

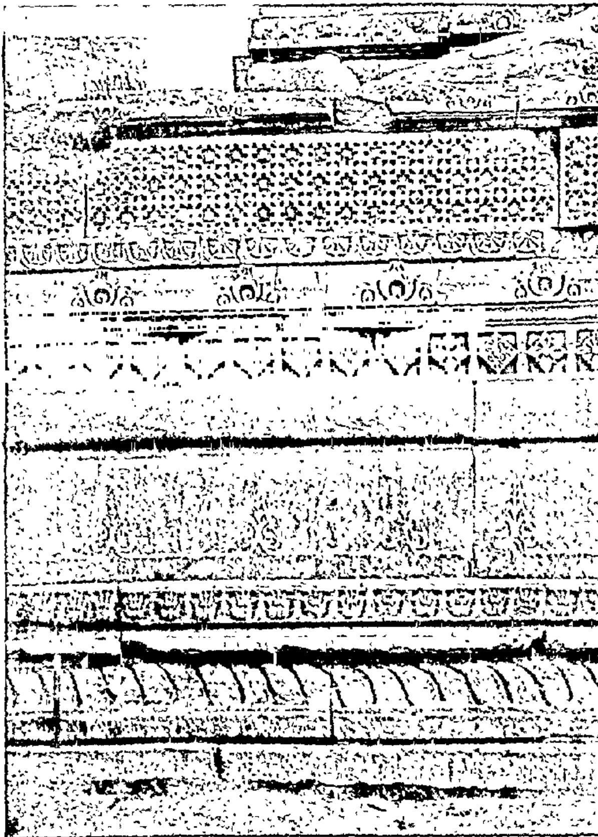


Fig. 1.

The shrine, when it was first built, appears to have stood alone on the summit of the rock, the three terraces on which it now rests being subsequently added in the 12th century A.D. This is manifest from the different style of the architecture, and is further borne out by an inscription of Sahajapāla, a ruler of the feudatory Chāhamāna clan of Naḍūla, which came to light on the middle terrace. The core of all these terraces is, in the main, composed of stone rubble, well faced and paved above with dressed slabs held together with iron clamps. In the lowest terrace the face stones are plain, but carved in the upper two. The mouldings of the latter are

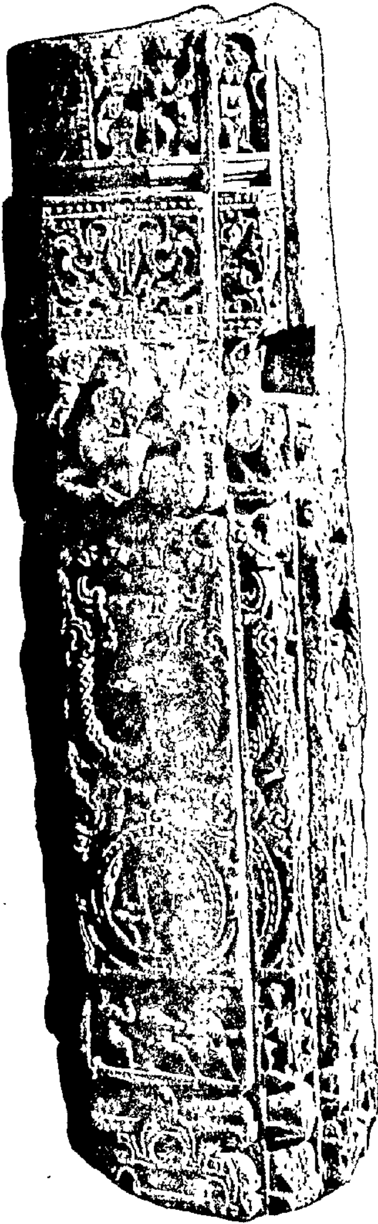
returned along every side and the carvings, though shallow and by no means so artistic as the earlier ones on the wall of the shrine itself, are still very effective (Fig. 1). As regards figure decoration, there are two relievos which deserve notice. They occur on the north side of the topmost terrace. One of them (Plate XLIV, *a*) illustrates a troop of warriors on the march, one of whom is riding a horse, while others are walking and others again are in a chariot drawn by camels. In the middle of the slab is a water wheel of the type still commonly used in Rajputana ; and at the reservoir where the water collects a camel is drinking, while another is approaching from behind. The other relief shows a number of warriors engaged in a hand-to-hand encounter and, at the right end, a horse-drawn chariot in which other warriors are hastening to the fight.

The plans of the terraces vary somewhat, although they are, as far as possible, symmetrically superimposed. The uppermost is cruciform in shape with three projections on the west side and one on each of the other sides. Its western half is well preserved ; the eastern much damaged. Some of the stones belonging to it had fallen on to the lower terraces ; fortunately, however, they were easy to distinguish and were put back in their respective places. The projection on the east side once contained a flight of steps, though nothing but their foundations now remain.

The middle terrace is rectangular in plan with two projections on the north and south sides and a single one in the middle of the west side. This terrace is quite intact, save for a few courses of the dressed stone facing on the north side. In the middle of the east side were three flights of steps separated form one another by platforms. The central flight, which is about 19′ broad, is much dilapidated, and the one to the north is almost entirely gone. The other flight, however, is in perfect condition, not one of its well-squared stones having been displaced.

The lowest terrace is only 4′ high. A portion of it, near the south-west corner, had fallen down and has been rebuilt again with the same materials. This terrace was ascended by two stairways : one on the north, now much damaged, and one on the south, still quite intact. The latter consists of five steps, 5′ 7″ long with risers of from 6″ to 8″ high. It was over this flight of steps that the *tōraṇa* with its elaborately sculptured pillars alluded to above, once stood. The pillars belonging, as they do, to the Early Gupta period, are manifestly much older than the terrace, and we may suppose that they were brought from some earlier temple and put up here when the terraces were constructed. The legends depicted on the eastern pillar are sufficiently described in my Annual Report for 1905-06 (pages 136-37). At that time the other pillar was partly buried beneath the ground, only the two uppermost panels being visible. Our clearance of the accumulated débris has now brought to light three more panels (Plate XLIV, *b*), of which the top one, unfortunately, is much defaced and, so far, has not admitted of certain identification. In the panel below it is portrayed Kṛishṇa's fight with the demon Kēśin, whom Kaṁsa had sent to destroy him. The legend, as told in the Prēm-Sāgar, is that Kṛishṇa and his brother Balarāma were returning home one evening when they met a bull of uncommon strength, which attacked Kṛishna but was quickly overcome and killed. In the sculpture Kṛishna is shown holding the horns of the demon bull, as he withstands its onslaught. Subsequently, as the story goes, the demon Kēśin

EXCAVATIONS AT MANDOR.



1.



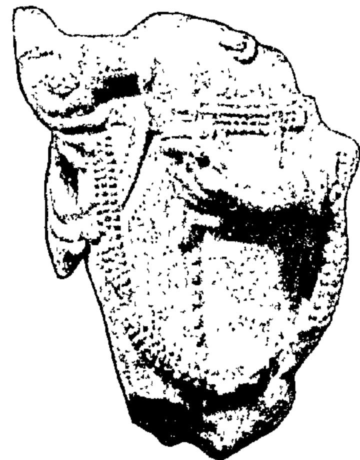
2.



3.



4.



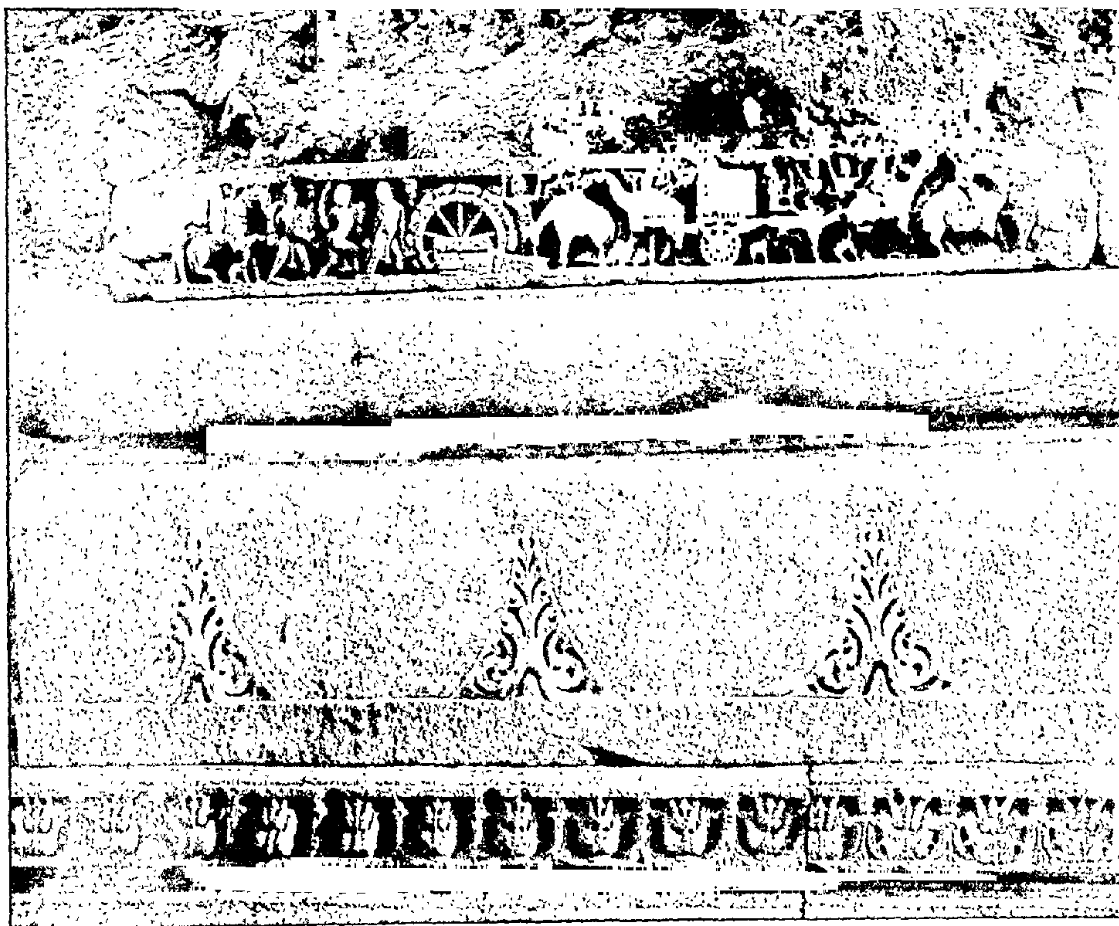
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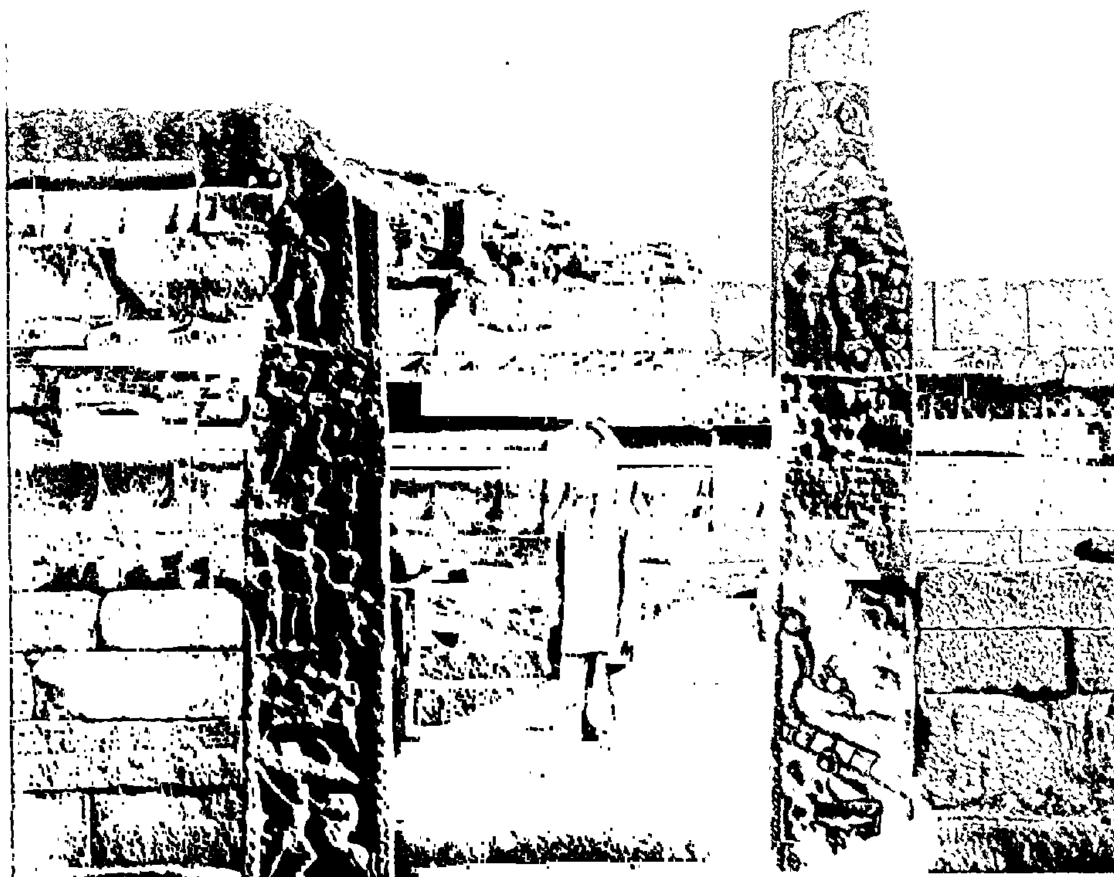
6.



7.



a.



b.

returns in the form of a powerful horse, which Krishṇa also slays by thrusting his hand into its mouth. This further exploit is figured in the lowest panel of the column.

The precinct of the temple was surrounded by a wall, varying in thickness from 6 to 12 feet, and still standing to a height of some 10 feet on the north and west sides. The approach through this wall, which is about 7 feet wide, is located in the north-west angle of this wall, and is obviously the entrance to which Colonel Tod refers in his description of the site.[1] There is another and somewhat smaller gateway about fifty feet to the south, which opens on to the lowest terrace and was formerly approached from the outside by a stairway. Only its threshold now remains *in situ*, but its lintel also was found lying on the terrace close by.

It has been remarked above that for some time previous to its final destruction, this temple was in the hands of the Śaivaites. At what date, precisely, that destruction took place is not ascertainable, but it seems to have happened during or shortly after the 14th century A.D.; for to that century are assignable several sculptures from the topmost terrace, which were the latest found on the site and which wore an appearance of freshness, as if they had not long been executed when they were buried beneath the débris of the temple. Among these sculptures was the slab illustrated in figure 2, measuring 3' 1" broad and 2' high. The main figure is that of Śiva, seated on his vehicle Nandin, with attendant figures to right and left. The god has four hands. In the upper right he holds a trident; in the upper left, a cobra. The lower right is in the gift-bestowing attitude; the lower left holds an uncertain object.



Fig. 2

[1] *Rajasthan*, Vol. 1, page 573.

That the temple was originally consecrated to Vishṇu and continued in the possession of his votaries until, at any rate, the 12th century A.D., is proved not only by the sculptures referred to above but by a number of inscriptions which came to light during the excavations; for every one of these records which is earlier than the 13th century alludes to Vishṇu, either by that name or by one or other of his local cult titles—Kēśava, Hari, Vāsudēva, Śauri or Nāhaḍasvāmi; while the later ones speak only of Śiva.

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS.

(BY PANDIT DAYA RAM SAHNI.)

In the course of excavations portions of sixteen inscribed slabs came to light. At the close of the work they were deposited in the museum maintained by the Mārwār Durbar at Jodhpur.

1. Fragment of reddish sandstone, $7\frac{1}{2}''$ broad $\times 6\frac{1}{2}''$ high. Contains portions of six lines. The 2nd line mentions the *śēsha* on which Vishṇu sleeps during the intervals of creation. The 4th line mentions *śārṅga*, the bow of Vishṇu. The letters are neatly cut and belong to the 8th or 9th century A.D.
2. Fragment, $2\frac{3}{4}''$ broad and the same in height. It yields no information of any value. Characters coeval with those of No. 1.
3. Triangular fragment of the same sort of sandstone, 9″ broad at top by 11″ high. Contains the beginnings of 14 lines in well-carved letters. Language elegant. Sanskrit verse in *anushṭup* metre. Lines 1 and 2 eulogise Vishṇu. From the existing portions of lines 3 to 10 we gather that a certain worshipper of Kēśava, whose name is missing, performed a fire-sacrifice (*havana*) presumably at Māṇḍavya's hermitage (modern Maṇḍōr), and caused something to be built. The same person obviously made the perpetual offering of a *karisha* of oil which is recorded in l. 8. Lines 11 and 12 contain remains of the date, which is 9**, the other two digits being lost. The 13th line records the death, at Pushkara,[1] of somebody.

   The characters are of the 9th century A.D. It is much to be regretted that the character of the object the construction of which is recorded in the 5th line, cannot be ascertained.
4. Four inscribed fragments, representing but a small fraction of a large *praśasti*. Two of these fragments fit together and contain the first portions of the first eleven lines. The other two belong to the lower portion of the slab. The existing portion of the inscription contains the genealogy of the feudatory Pratīhāras from Hariśchandra to Bhōja, who is manifestly identical with the brother of Tāta and first son of Nāgabhaṭa. The name of the ruler in whose time this record was inscribed is lost, as also its object. The first four verses were devoted to the praise of Vishṇu and alluded to his sport with the

[1] This is the name of a sacred tank near Ajmer.

herdswomen, and to his Vāmana, Varāha and Nārasiṁha incarnations. The characters used are of the same style as those in the above-mentioned inscriptions.

5—6. Nos. 5 and 6, which, on grounds of palæography, are also assignable to about the 9th century, are too fragmentary to yield any information.

7. Middle portion of an inscribed slab, 5″×4″. The second line contained the names of certain Śaivas. Line 3 mentions *Ūkēśa,* the modern Ōsiā. In the 4th line we read of a gold finial and banner. In the next line we can recover the date, which is 1197 of the Vikrama era. Line 6 contains the name of Āsadēva, who presumably is the same as Āsarāja of the feudatory Chāhamāna tribe.

8. Nineteen fragments of an inscribed slab, which came to light in the eastern portion of the middle terrace. They range in size from 1½″ to 9″. Seventeen of these pieces can be put together with certainty, and thus supply portions of the first 48 lines of the inscription. The lacunæ which remain are large and many, but the majority can be restored with the help of the Nāḍōl plates of the Rājaputra Kīrtipāla of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1218.[1] The width of the slab was about 12″ and the height up to the 48th line 2′ 4½″. The other two fragments are from the lower part of the slab, but, as they fit neither to each other nor to the upper portion, the total height of the slab remains uncertain.

The object of this inscription was to record the bestowal of a village, whose name is lost. The boundaries of this village are specified in lines 39 and 40 of the inscription. It was bounded on the north by Sīyāhaṭī, which may perhaps be identified with Sīhāṭ, situated some six miles to the east of Sōjat town. The names of the other boundaries are lost. The articles of daily worship were recorded in the last line of the inscription. One of them was musk (*kastūrī*).

The recipient of the gift, as recorded in line 29, was [Nara]bhaṭasvāmi, who, no doubt, is the same as the Nāhaḍasvāmidēva of inscription No. 11. It is, therefore, certain that, when this inscription was put up, the temple at Maṇḍōr was a Vaishṇava one.

The donor of the village was Sahajapāla, son of Rāyapāla, grandson of Ratnapāla and great-grandson of Pṛithvīpāla, of the feudatory Chāhamāna clan of Naḍūla. The main interest of the inscription lies in the fact that it supplies the names of four members of the Naḍūla Chāhamāna clan, which were not known before. They are Sahajapāla, Rāyapāla, his queen Padmalladēvī, and Ratnapāla. The name of Rāyapāla was known from several inscriptions from Naḍlāī and Nāḍōl, but it is only now that we know his proper place in the genealogy of this clan.[2]

The date of the inscription is missing. We have, however, dates for Rāyapāla, the father and predecessor of Sahajapāla, which range from Vikrama-Saṁvat 1189 to 1202. Sahajapāla's reign must therefore have commenced soon after 1202 V. S.

[1] Vide *Ep. Ind.*, IX, pp. 68 seq.

[2] Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, XI, pp. 69 ff.

Transcript.

1. [ओं नम*]ो नारायणाय [॥*]
2. . . . . . युक्तः प्रविततवनमा[ला*] . . . .
3. . . . . . . रमरत्नाकरो लक्ष्मीसमे[त*] . . . .
4. . . . . . . स्वामिदेवः ॥ शाकंभरीनाम[पुरे पुरासीच्छ्री*] चाहमा[ना*]
5. [न्वय*]लब्धजन्मा । र[ाजा*] महाराजनत[ांघ्रियुग्मः ख्या*]तोवनौ
6. [वाक्प*ि]तराजनामा ॥ [नड्ड*]ले समभूत्व(त्त)दी[यतनयः*] श्रीलक्ष्म[णो*]
7. [भूपतिः तस्मात्सर्व्वगुणान्वि*]तो नृपवरः श्री[शोभि*]ताख्यः सुतः । [त*]-
8. [स्माच्छ्रीबलिराजनामनृपतिः*] पश्चात्त[दीयो म*]हीख्यातो विग्रह-
9. [पाल इत्यभिधया राज्ये पितृव्यो भवत्* ॥] तस्मात्तीव्रमहाप्र-
10. तापतरणिः पुत्रो [महे*]न्द्रो [भवत्तज्जा*]च्छ्रीअणहिल्लदेवनृप-
11. [तिः श्रीजेन्द्रराजः सु*]तः । श्रा . . . . हाद्वितीयः श्री . . . .
12. राजः . . . . . . लनृपे . . . . इति श्री श्राशराजो-
13. जनि ॥ . . . . . . गुणसे . . . . . युतः शूरः सुदाक्षिण्य-
14. वान् पृ[थ्वीपा*]लसुतो [नरा*]धिपवरः श्रीरत्नपालोभवत्[॥*]
15. तज्जो दु[र्धर*]वैरिकुं[जर*]वधप्रोत्तालसिंहोपमः सत्की-
16. र्त्या धवलीकृताखि[ल*]जगच्छ्रीरायपालो नृपः ॥ अ[स्मा*]-
17. दभूत्स[ह*]जपाल इह प्रसिद्धः [प*]द्मलदेवि(वी)शुभ[कुक्षि*]-
18. [भृतस्तनू*]जः । संस्तूयमानचरिता विबुधैर्ज्जगा[म ज्योत्स्ने*]-
19. व यस्य धवला त्रिजगत्सु कीर्त्तिः ॥ [ए*]ष महारा[ज*] . . . [स*]-
20. हजपालदेवो मड्डोदरीय[वासि*] . . . [सम*]
21. स्तराजपुरुषान् ब्राह्मण . . . .
22. स्तु वः संविदितं यथा ॥ . . . . [पूर्णमा*]-
23. स्यां तिथौ स्ना[त्वा धौते वाससी परिधाय तिलाक्षतकुशप्रणयिनं*]
24. दक्षिणकरं [कृत्वा*] देवपितृमनु[ज . . . . नुदकेन संतर्प्य*]
25. तिमिरपटलपाटनपटीय[सो दिवाकरस्य पूजां विधाय चरा*]-
26. [चरगुरुं म*]हेश्वरं संपूज्य . . . .
27. . . . . मवेक्ष्य
28. . . . . . . य ऐहि[कं पार*]त्रिकं [च फलमङ्गीकृत्य स्वपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये*]
29. . . . . . . ण [श्रीनर*]भटस्वामि . . . .
30 . . . . . वान् (?) . . . . . . [ग्रा]मं १ . . . . [पू*]
31. र्व्वंदत्तदेव[दा*]य ब्रह्म . . . .
32. सनिधान . . . .
33. णपाल . . . .
34. . . . .
35. स[र्व्वे*] . . . .
36. त्यस्माभिः प्रदत्त . . . .
37. . . . .
38. काग्रोदरं . . . .
39. या वारि भिगडाडगरोति . . . . .

40. उत्तरत: सोयाहटी। द्द . . . . . [रा] तड . . . .
[स*]र्व्वांघा
41. टनोपलचितं क्त्वा प्र . . . . . दद्यप्रभृति . . . . मस्य सत्का
42. ॰.र्व्वोत्पत्तिं (त्ति) देवाय द[त्ता] [॥ केना*] पि परिपं [थना न कार्य्या*]। अस्म-
43. अदत्तदेवदायोनुमन्तव्य: पालनीयश्च। इदमस्मत्कुलो-
44. त्पन्नैरन्यैर्व्वा भाविभोक्तृभि: . . . . तो धर्म्मपाल-
45. ने श्रृणुत स्मृती: ॥ वहुभि [र्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि:*] सगरादिभि:
46. यस्य यस्य यदा भू[मिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम्* ॥] . . . .
47. वा यत्ता . [क्त] . . . .
48. नु पा[ल] . . . .

Here a few lines are missing.

1. [सुवर्णमेकं गामेकां भूमेरप्येक*] मंगु [लं हरन्नरकमाप्नोति
2. यावदाभूतसंप्लवम् ॥ दत्तानि दाना*] नि पुरा न[रेंद्रैर्दानानि
3. धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि। निर्म्माल्यवा*]न्तिप्रतिम[ानि तानि को नाम साधु:
पुनराददीत ॥*]
4. [वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं] वसुधाधिप[त्यमापातमात्रमधुरा
5. विषयोपभोगा:। प्राणास्तृणाग्रजलविन्दुसमा नराणां धर्म्म: सखा परमहो परलोकयाने* ॥]
6. . . . . . . सामान्य एष
7. . . . . पालनीय:
8. . . . . . . तस्याहं करे [लग्न:*]

One or two lines are again missing here.

1. . . . . . देवस्य
2. . . . [ससु]त्कीर्णा स्व[र्णंका*] रेण
3. . . . .
4. . . . . पल १ कस्तूरी

Inscriptions 9—10. Yield no information of any value.

Inscription 11. Seven fragments of an inscription which was incised on a pillar. To judge from the style of the characters, this inscription is referable to about the same date as No. 8. The epigraph records the endowment of a village (name lost) to the Nāhaḍasvāmidēva temple, to meet the expenses of the swing festival.

The remaining five inscriptions supply no historical information.

J. H. MARSHALL.
DAYA RAM SAHNI.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS FROM THE BORDERS OF TIBET.

THE present paper contains a résumé of the chief results of an archæological tour made by me on the western borders of Tibet in the summer of 1909 on behalf of the Government of India. Starting from Simla on the 14th June, I travelled up the Satluj valley to Poo in Bushahr and Shipke in Tibet, and, crossing over to Spiti, continued my journey through Rubshu and Rong-chu-rgyud to Leh, the capital of Ladakh. From Leh I followed the trade route to Śrīnagar in Kashmīr with excursions to Likir, Alchi, Mangrgyu and Chigtan. I returned by way of the Plains, to Simla on the 11th October. The epigraphical and other historical and archæological materials recovered will be published in due course.

The most ancient epigraphs of this region are the rock inscriptions of Khalatse consisting of one in Brāhmī and three in Kharōshṭhī. In the course of my tour, I did not meet with any of an earlier period, nor did I discover any more of the same age. We arrived at Khalatse just in time to prevent the inscribed rocks from being destroyed. As a new bridge across the Indus was being constructed, many boulders, some with interesting rock-carvings and inscriptions, had been blasted, and that with the Brāhmī inscription had already been marked. I spoke to the overseer in charge, as well as to the officials of Khalatse, and entreated them to preserve these invaluable stones. We took photographs of the Brāhmī and the longer Kharōshṭhī inscription near the bridge, and of the ancient Gupta inscription near the mGochen *stūpa*. In addition, a paper impression was taken of the Kharōshṭhī inscription. The Brāhmī and the two shorter Kharōshṭhī inscriptions have already been read by Dr. Vogel.[1]

About two miles above the Commissioner's compound, in the Leh valley, there are several ancient graves on which the late Dr. Shawe and myself did some excavation work in 1903. On hearing that somebody had again opened one of the graves,

[1] See his *Annual Progress Report*, 1906, and my paper *Historische Dokumente von Khalatse* in *Z. D. M. G.*, Vol. LXI, p. 583. Our photograph of the Kharōshṭhī inscription was sent to Professor Rapson of Cambridge, as suggested by Mr. Marshall.

I decided to examine them, before it should be too late. The roof of the grave which I opened is more than a yard below the present level of the ground. It consists of large unhewn stones of rectangular shape, each about one and a half yards long and a foot or so broad. The walls consist of masonry of unhewn stones. The grave is about two yards long, one and a half yards broad, and at least six feet deep.

The grave contained clay pots of various sizes, a few entire, but most of them in fragments. The largest pot, of which only fragments came to light, may have had a height of three feet, the smaller pots, which were rarer than the large ones, had a height of four to six inches. There were also small saucer-like vessels of burnt clay, probably lamps. The pottery of the graves is not wheel but hand-made, and provided with very small handles. When Dr. Shawe and myself examined this grave in 1903, we found two elegant medium-sized vessels ornamented with designs in dark red colour. This time we could not find a single pot with painted designs in the grave; but linear ornaments were impressed on several of them. These painted or stamped ornaments are all of a very primitive type. They consist of spirals, ladders and zigzag bands; and occasionally there are bundles of lines which may represent grass or reeds. As most of the pots were broken at the bottom, I was led to believe that they had fallen down from some height, probably from wooden boards.

As I had observed, when previously examining the graves, most of the pots were filled with human bones. This circumstance seems to indicate that the ancient inhabitants of the Leh valley indulged in the practice of cutting the corpses to pieces and filling the clay pots with the fragments. This custom, which is also found in other parts of the globe, is asserted by Chinese authors to have been in vogue in the "Empire of the Eastern Women." We found between fifteen and twenty skulls in one single grave. How many there were originally, it is difficult to state, as we were not the first to examine the grave. All the skulls were most distinctly dolichocephalic, and the index formulas 74—77 would probably suit them all. As dolichocephalic heads are a distinctive mark of the Dards of Da Hanu, and other Dard settlements of Ladakh, we are led to believe that the people who built these ancient graves, were probably of Dard stock. Besides human bones, the grave contained the skull of a sheep, and the horn of an ox, which are apparently remains of a sacrifice, or gifts to the dead.

The grave yielded also a number of bronze implements, some in fairly good preservation. Most of them, however, were much corroded and covered with thick layers of verdigris. First of all, I may mention small square laminæ of thin bronze, furnished with an embossed ring, of which we found hundreds. Whether they were used for ornamental purposes, or as coins, I am unable to decide. Then, there were numerous beads of bronze, both round and oblong in shape, small and large, the largest thicker than a finger. Later on, we discovered little bell-shaped pendants of bronze with triangular holes and a ring at the top. They were probably inserted between the bronze beads of the necklace. Then, there were a number of bronze buttons of various sizes with a loop on the reverse, some of ordinary size, about half an inch in diameter, but others much larger, up to about two inches in

diameter. The largest had a scolloped edge, like an Indian one anna piece. None of them contained an inscription. The smallest were quite plain, the largest had an elaborate spiral ornament, and those of medium size a star ornament. I suppose that these buttons were worn by the ancient officials as a distinguishing mark of rank, as is the case in China nowadays. Besides several fragments of bronze pots, we found a well preserved small bronze can with a spout of excellent workmanship, though quite plain and without any ornament. I may also mention a bronze seal with a cross pattern and an entire bracelet with a pattern of small circles. In addition, let me say that fragments of iron implements and a single gold implement came to light also. The latter is of a shape similar to the mouth-piece of a trumpet, but its purpose is not known. Its ornamentation is a curved form of the Greek key.

The ancient graves at Leh, as stated above, as well as those at rGya call to mind the following description of the form of burial practised in the "Empire of the Eastern Women" as found in Chinese historians:—"When a person of rank dies, they strip off the skin, and put the flesh and bones mixed with gold powder into a vase, and then bury it ...... At the burial of the sovereign, several tens of the great ministers and relatives are buried at the same time." The latter statement may account for the great number of skulls, sometimes as many as twenty, found in a single grave. From the large bronze buttons, obviously a mark of high rank, I conclude that the Leh grave actually contained the remains of several ministers. The boundaries of the "Empire of the Eastern Women" are given in the *Sui-shu* as well as by Hiuen Tsang. They are Khotan, Sampaha (Ladakh), Brahmapura (the upper Ravi valley) and Tibet. The Empire apparently comprised the Tibetan provinces of Guge and Ruthog, and possibly Eastern Ladakh.[1] The empire was a Tibetan one according to our Chinese authorities, and it is therefore difficult to account for dolichocephalic heads in the Leh graves, the skulls being evidently not those of Tibetans but of Aryans. My explanation would be that in those times the greater part of Ladakh was inhabited by Dard emigrants from Gilgit. As regards the date of the Leh graves, the presence of iron, besides bronze, seems to preclude the fixing of any very early date. In my opinion the grave dates from between 1 and 500 A.D.

Our researches in the field of the pre-Buddhist religion of Ladakh and Tibet were also crowned with success. The earliest type of the pre-Buddhist religion is Nature worship, as it finds expression in the oral versions of the Kesar Saga, and in several collections of hymns, such as the gLing-glu and the marriage rituals. The principal sources for the study of this ancient religion are contained in the folklore of the western borders of Tibet. But some of the ancient songs have already become literature. Then, what is literature, and what folklore? For my own part, when an old saga or hymnal which has been handed down orally for centuries is reduced to writing without the agency of a European or educated Indian, I propose to call it literature.

Previous to my Tibetan tour I had discovered only a single specimen of such indigenous manuscripts of hymnals, *viz.*, the Marriage Ritual of Tagmachig. To my

[1] *Cf.* my *Note on Po-lo-kih-mo-pu-lo and Su-fa-la-na-chu-ta-lo* in *J.R.A.S.* for 1910, pp. 489 ff.

gratification I found at Poo another manuscript of an old hymnal written down by the natives themselves. According to their own statement, it contained the song which were used on the occasion of their former human sacrifices. The language of this hymnal is exceptionally difficult to understand. Although I have made partial translations of it, I am still far from understanding the whole. The last part is of special interest, as it seems to contain the ideas of the pre-Buddhist inhabitants of these regions with regard to the life after death. Later on, when the pre-Buddhist religion had become mixed up with doctrines borrowed from Buddhism and Hinduism it changed its character and became the Bon-chos, which was still prevalent in the tenth and eleventh centuries, as we know from legends connected with Milaraspa.

We discovered what appeared to be a ruined Bon-po temple of those times at Lamayuru. The entrance was towards the east, exactly as in many ancient Buddhist temples. Owing to the roof having collapsed, the frescoes in this temple have suffered badly. Most of the divinities painted on the walls of the hall, are of Buddhist type, but their complexion is either blue or black, and their dress is red. Besides, there were several female figures of unusual shape whose complexion was white. They appear to wear ear flaps, like the modern Ladakhi women. On the ceiling were represented well designed rows of female musicians, alternately white and grey. The most interesting group of frescoes is that which represents what I believe to be priests of the Bon-po religion. One of them is represented almost life size, whilst the others are smaller. They are all clothed in white undergarments and striped gowns. The large figure, and one of the smaller figures, wear gowns with black and blue stripes; in the case of the other small figures the gowns are striped black and grey. The large figure, moreover, wears a blue hat, like a European soft hat with a broad brim. The smaller figures have hats of the same shape, but of black colour. In most references to the Bon-po priests, their dress is described as being black, but there are a few passages which make mention of the blue colour of their dress. These relics of the Bon religion at Lamayuru are of some importance; for, as we learn from Sarat Chandra Das' "Journey to Lhasa," the present day Bon-po priests of Central Tibet cannot be distinguished from Buddhist priests, the dress of both being exactly alike.

The times of Atiśa have become known through the same author's work, "Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow," and a few translations of texts relating to church history have been published in the Journals of the Buddhist Text Society. But, up to the present, it has been impossible to decide whether the persons mentioned in connection with Atiśa actually lived, or not. In the course of our tour we discovered several inscriptions of those times, at Poo, in Spiti and in Ladakh.

The one at Poo is a rock inscription which was found in a field belonging to a lama called bKa-rgyud. The rock is about six feet high and is carved on one side. The upper half of the carved side shows the well executed representation of a *stūpa*, the lower half, which is in very bad preservation and mostly underground, that of a human being wearing a three-pointed hat. On the other side of the stone is a Tibetan inscription of eleven lines, of which only the first two are in fair preservation; of the remaining lines only the beginning and end portions have been preserved. The first line contains the full name of the royal priest Lha-blama Ye-shes-'od, who died

in prison as a martyr for Buddhism about 1025 A.D. The words following the name in the inscription are *sku ring la*—"in his life time." Though fragmentary, the inscription contains some interesting information. We learn from it that in the days of the priest-king Ye-shes-'od the villages of Spu (Poo) and dKor both existed and that Spu even possessed a palace. The priest-king had ten sons, and all of them were sent to Poo. With what object cannot be said with certainty, but from the frequent occurrence of the words *lha-chos* (religion of the *lha*) and *sngar-chos* (former religion), it appears that they were sent here for the propagation of Buddhism. In the end we read that they erected at Spu some structure, probably the first Buddhist temple, which has now entirely disappeared.

On one of the walls of the Tabo monastery of Spiti I discovered an inscription of the days of king Byang-chub-'od of Guge, the very ruler who invited Atīśa to Tibet. The principal hall of the Tabo monastery, called rNam-par snang-mdzad, seems to have remained almost unchanged since the days of Atīśa, and its artistic images and ancient pictures deserve a closer study than we could devote to it during our brief visit. It also contains an eleventh century manuscript of the Tibetan version of the Prajñā-pāramitā.

More important than this document are two inscriptions written on the wall in black ink immediately above the floor. Their low position indicates that they were intended for people who are in the habit of sitting cross-legged on the ground. One of them is historical ; it speaks of the foundation of the Tabo monastery about 900 years ago, and of people who were connected with that event. The other inscription is admonitory. One might call it "blessing and cursing," but there is more of cursing in it than of blessing. It speaks of the many punishments to be inflicted on such lamas, as do not live up to the standard of the law, and there is no end of chopping off parts of their bodies. I wonder if these regulations have ever been carried out. To return to the historical inscription, it records a renovation of the Tabo monastery by Byang-chub-'od, the priest-king of Guge, forty-six years after the monastery had been founded by Lhayi-bu Byang-chub sems-dpa. The latter, evidently the king of Ladakh mentioned in the Ladakhi chronicle as one of the early rulers of that country, is referred to with much respect in this inscription. His advice was repeatedly asked by the king of Guge, and thus the inscription confirms the statement of history that the kings of Ladakh were the recognized suzerains of the princes of Guge. Besides both these royal names, the inscription contains those of the two most important lamas of the period, *viz.*, Rin-chen bzang-po, and Atīśa, the latter being called Phul-byung, which is his Tibetan name, as already stated by the Rev. Jäschke. The inscription says that Rin-chen bzang-po was made a "light of wisdom" through the agency of Atīśa. This is apparently a reference to the controversy between the two lamas which ended with Rin-chen bzang-po acknowledging Atīśa's superiority.

As this inscription was evidently written in the days of king Byang-chub-'od, about 1050 A.D., it is of great importance for Tibetan palæography, as are also the inscriptions of the same times at Poo, Alchi, and Mangrgyu in Ladakh. It should be remembered that, besides these epigraphs, only the following dateable inscriptions of ancient Tibet have become known : (1) The Endere inscriptions of the 8th century

discovered by Dr. Stein. (2) The inscription of king Khri-srong-lde-btsan of about 780 A.D. at Lhasa, discovered by Professor Waddell. (3) The inscription of king Ralpacan of 810-820 A.D. at Lhasa. The most archaic of the Endere epigraphs have among others, the following peculiarities:—(1) the *i* vowel sign is often inverted; (2) when *m* precedes *i* or *e*, *y* intervenes; (3) words ending in *r*, *l*, or *n* are furnished with a *d* suffix. Now, the Tabo, Spu, Alchi and Mangrgyu inscriptions of the 11th century exhibit only the two last mentioned peculiarities. The *i* vowel sign is no longer inverted in them, but is always in its present position. From this observation we may conclude that all those inscriptions which contain inverted *i* vowel signs, may be older than the eleventh century. As regards the position of the *e* and *o* vowel signs on the right or left upper end, or above, the consonant base, it varies with the age of inscriptions. I have recorded a few observations on this peculiarity in my article on Ralpacan's inscription.[1] I am of opinion that the compilation of the bKa-'agyur about 1300 A.D., marks an epoch in Tibetan palæography. It probably put an end to the intervening *y* between *m* and *i* or *e*, and to the suffixed *d*. From about the year 1300 A.D., the Tibetan orthography probably remained stationary, and the age of an inscription after 1300 can be estimated only by the position of the vowel signs on or above their consonant bases.

With regard to the Alchi monastery, it deserves special mention that a well executed picture of a king with his wife and son is found on the other side of the door, opposite to king Byang-chub sems-dpa's inscription. It, therefore, most probably represents this king himself. My reason for this assertion is that both in the dGon-khang temple of Leh and in the Byams-pa temple of Basgo, we find the portraits of the royal founders by the side of the door. The supposed king Byang-chub sems-dpa wears a diadem, and his yellow coat has large round spots of blue or purple colour with the figure of a lion or tiger in each of them, whilst his girdle shows a checkered pattern of white and red. He is shaded by an umbrella and in his hand carries an axe of fanciful shape. His son (probably Lha-chen rgyal-po) is dressed in a similar manner and the queen has her hair plaited in little pigtails. In another hall at Alchi there are also some interesting pictures of the same times representing Tibetan sports, notably hawking.

In Śrīnagar, the capital of Kashmīr, I paid special attention to all such places as are connected with Riñchana Bhōṭi, the Tibetan king of Kashmīr who reigned from 1319 to 1323 A.D. He is the reputed builder of the Awwal Masjid, the oldest mosque of Śrīnagar, a small insignificant building which bears no comparison with the beautiful later mosques of Śrīnagar. It has not even a minaret on the roof, and the walls have lost their plaster coating. It is empty and devoid of artistic decoration. It is said that formerly there was a stone slab incised with non-Arabic characters, described as a kind of Śāstrī, which designation may stand for Śāradā or Tibetan. About twenty years ago, so I was told, a European carried off the stone and took it to England. Anyhow, a Persian translation of the inscription has apparently been preserved in Ḥaidar Malik's Persian History of Kashmīr. It runs thus: "My friend, for the sake of gaiety, has become the observed of observers. His face claimed Islām, and his hair adorned paganism. He

[1] *Ep. Ind.*

controls both paganism and Islām, and takes interest in both." From this inscription it would follow that Riñchana Bhōṭi had become only half converted. The Awwal Masjid is, according to popular tradition, the oldest mosque of Śrīnagar, and people assert that thousands of Hindus were here converted to Islām. It is generally known as Rindān Shāh Masjid. In the chronicle, mentioned above, it is also stated that Riñchana Bhōṭi built the shrine called Bulbul Lankar, which is situated only a few steps from the Awwal Mosque. It is interesting that Riñchana's friend, priest Bulbul, has found his way into Ladakhi folklore, where he is mentioned in the song of the Bodro Masjid of Śrīnagar. At a short distance from Bulbul Lankar, people showed us the grave of Riñchana Bhōṭi. It is marked by a plain slab uninscribed and a little larger in size than the tombstones of common people. It is surrounded by a low stone wall on the four sides, and rosebushes have been planted inside the enclosure. As I have shown elsewhere,[1] Riñchana Bhōṭi is probably identical with the Lha-chen rgyalbu rin-chen of the Ladakh chronicles.

At Leh, I discovered the first inscription of king bKra-shis rnam-rgyal, the Ladakhi king who, in all probability, reigned in the days of the Turkoman invasion of Sulṭān Haidar of Kashgar, 1500—1532 A.D. It is found in a temple of red colour, on the top of the rNam-rgyal rtse-mo hill at Leh. This temple, called mGon-khang, is the very one which was erected by king bKra-shis rnam-rgyal, as stated in the rGyal-rabs. Dr. Marx was assured of its existence, but was unable to visit it. It contains very artistically executed figures of "the four lords" which are from about three to eight feet high. The principal figure represents rNam-thos-sras (Vaiśravaṇa), the god of wealth, in sexual union with his Śakti. These images belong to the few in Ladakh which can be roughly dated and are, therefore, of the greatest importance for the history of Tibetan art. Among the wall paintings, I noticed one on the right hand side of the door which represented gorgeously dressed men wearing Yarkandi turbans. At first I failed to understand the presence of these Moslim portraits in a Buddhist temple, until the lama in charge explained that they represented Ladakhi kings. By the side of the picture, there is a long inscription in gold on indigo-tinted paper, which mentions king bKra-shis rNam-rgyal, the builder of the temple. From this it appears that the picture represents this king who testified to his feigned attachment to the Turks by adopting their dress. As regards the Turkoman invasion under Sulṭān Haidar, which took place during his reign, it is very difficult to reconcile the Tibetan with the Turkish account contained in the Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī. According to the Tibetan sources, he gained a signal victory over the Turkomans and the corpses of the slain Turks were placed before the idols of the mGon-khang temple, whereas the Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī represents him as a servant of the Turks who held him in little honour. In the fresco, it is only the male members of the royal family of Ladakh who are shown wearing the Turkoman dress, whereas the females are dressed in true Ladakhi fashion. It is of particular importance that the name of a state minister, Phyag-rdor is mentioned in the temple inscription, as having served under bKra-shis rNam-rgyal. The name of the same minister is also found in the Daru rock inscription which

[1] *Cf.* my *References to the Bhoṭṭas or Bhauṭṭas in the Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kashmīr* in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXVII.

contains the name of a king, Lha-chen Kun-dga rNam-rgyal. As the latter name is not found in the Ladakhi chronicles, I had difficulty in identifying king Kun-dga rNam-rgyal. Now I feel inclined to identify him with bKra-shis rNam-rgyal's father, king Lha-chen bha-gan, the founder of the rNam-rgyal dynasty. It is quite possible that Lha-chen bha-gan did not only give names containing the word rNam-rgyal to his sons, but that he assumed such a name for himself. Thus, Kun-dga rNam-rgyal may be identical with Lha-chen bha-gan ; and the minister Phyag-rdor, after having served Lha-chen bha-gan, may have done service also under bKra-shis rNam-rgyal. Another inscription of bKra-shis rNam-rgyal is found at Alchi, where he renovated the gSum-thsag temple, apparently with the assistance of an Indian who knew the Mughal style of painting. This adaptation of Mughal art to a Buddhist subject is probably unique. It is interesting that the inscription which records the restoration of the temple, also mentions the amount of red, blue, or gold colour which was contributed by various peasants of the neighbourhood.

On a *maṇi* wall at Horling, in the desert between Kanāwar and Spiti, I discovered an inscription of a king of Guge who resided at Tsaparang, apparently during the first half of the 17th century. This *maṇi* wall was erected by an inhabitant of the Tibetan village of rGyumkhar, the Shugar of the map. When reading this inscription, I could not help thinking at once of the Jesuit priest Andrada, who says that he found a Tibetan king at Tsaparang who was favourably inclined towards Christianity. This statement has been subjected to serious doubts by modern writers on Tibet, who could not believe that a king should ever have resided at the now unimportant village of Tsaparang. Now Andrada is vindicated by the inscription which proves that Tsaparang was the capital of a sovereign whose power was acknowledged even as far as Spiti. The dynastic name of the kings of Guge, the last of whom apparently resided at Tsaparang was Lde. The name of the king mentioned on the votive tablet, is Khri bKra-shis grags-pa Lde. As this name is not found in the genealogical tree of the Guge kings, he must be one of the later members of the dynasty. He cannot well have reigned before 1600 A.D., for *maṇi* walls were hardly ever constructed before that time, nor can his reign have fallen much later than 1630 A.D., for about that time, Indra Bodhi rNam-rgyal, a younger brother of the king of Leh, was made vassal king of Guge, and in 1650 A.D., Guge was annexed by Lhasa and received a Tibetan Governor. It is, therefore, very probable that Khri bKra-shis grags-pa Lde is the very king whose acquaintance was made by Andrada in 1623 A.D.

This supposition is strengthened by the discovery of a similar votive tablet, which I made three days after at Tabo in Spiti. It contained the name of the same king and gave Tsaparang as his residence. But, what is still more surprising, is the occurrence of the following short prayer on the tablet: "Help that the darkness and unfaithfulness to our religion there [at Tsaparang] may cease." The man who carved the inscription, was evidently displeased with the king of Tsaparang's inclination towards Christianity. So was the suzerain king of Leh, for it was probably on this account that he placed his younger brother on the throne of Guge. We shall, therefore, be justified in accepting Andrada's account of his mission to Tsaparang without any severe criticism.

Among the manuscripts collected by me there are copies of some important works relative to the history of Ladakh. As stated elsewhere, the Tibetan text of Dr. K. Marx's second "Historical Document from Ladakh" (of his *B.* and *C.* MSS.) being lost, the English translation only has as yet been published. It was, of course my particular wish to trace these important documents, but Dr. Marx's indications as to their ownership are somewhat vague. I had long suspected that Munshi dPal-rgyas of Leh was the owner of manuscript *C.* and on the Munshi's copy of the rGyal-rabs being examined by the Rev. G. Reichel of Leh, my supposition proved to be correct. It was still more difficult to recover manuscript *B.* Mr. Josef Thse-brtan of Leh, our Mission schoolmaster, succeeded finally in tracing Munshi Tsandan of Leh as its happy owner.

From Munshi dPal-rgyas was also obtained his latest, revised and enlarged, version of the Ḍōgrā war, and from Munshi Tsandan a copy of the first chapter of the Lad-vags rGyal-rabs, containing an account of the creation of the world, a chapter which has never been published. At Leh, I chanced upon a number of manuscripts of my own, mostly relating to Ladakhi folklore, which were preserved in the Mission library. These manuscripts, of which only a few have as yet been published, as well as my other stock of unpublished documents, were purchased by the Government of India. Among them is a copy of a woodprint containing a Primer of the Tibeto-Mongolian script of Tibet, and a number of copies of chronicles of vassal chiefs from Ladakh. The Primer has already stood me in good stead in deciphering the seals of the Dalai Lama,[1] of a chief of Sikkim, and of Thse-dpal rNam-rgyal of Ladakh.

Among the antiquities brought back from my tour let me mention a collection of Tibetan stone implements, and another of clay tablets, many of which are furnished with inscriptions in Indian and Tibetan characters. The Indian legends cover the period from about 600 to about 1200 A.D. These antiquities will be deposited in the Indian Museum at Calcutta with the exception of those unearthed in Ladakh, which have been claimed by the Kashmīr Darbār, and, it is understood, are now preserved in the Partab Singh Museum at Śrīnagar.

A. H. FRANCKE.

[1] *Cf.* my *Note on the Dalai Lama's seal and the Tibeto-Mongolian characters* in *J. R. A. S.* for 1910, pp. 1205 ff. See also *J. R. A. S.* for 1910, pp. 204 ff and 528 ff.

EXCAVATIONS AT HMAWZA NEAR PROME.

THE excavations extended over the three open seasons of 1907-8, 1908-9, and 1909-10, the locality having been first visited by me in 1906-7 in company with the late General de Beylié of Cochin China, whose death was a serious loss to Indo-Chinese archæology.[1] In 1907-8, the following sites were excavated :—1st Zegu Pagoda (East), 2nd Pogaungkangōn, 3rd Thaungbyegōn, 4th Monthèmagōn and 5th Lèbaw. In the following season I was on leave, and the excavations were continued by my *locum tenens,* Maung Po Thaung, B.C.E., K.S.M., Assistant Engineer, who exposed the West Zegu Pagoda and cleared the jungle on the Palace site. In 1909-10, the work was resumed under my supervision, and fresh ground was opened at the Singyidaing Pagoda, Kanthonzindaung, and the Atwin Mōktaw Pagoda.

Hmawza or Yathemyo (the City of the Rishi) which has been identified with the Śrī-kshētra of the Burmese Chronicles, is situated about 5 miles to the east of Prome. According to tradition, it was founded by King Duttabaung, 101 years after the *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddha, that is, in the year 443 B.C. (in accordance with the Burmese method of reckoning).[2] In the native annals it is stated that the city was surrounded by a circuit wall with thirty-two large and twenty-three small gates, and was filled with splendid buildings, including three royal palaces with handsome gilt spires. About the beginning of the second century of the Christian era, the town was abandoned and fell into ruin, but the remains of massive walls, constructed with well-burnt bricks, 18 inches long by 9 wide and 3 thick, and of embankments and pagodas attest that, where seven or eight villages now stand in rice fields and swamps, intersected here and there by patches and strips of brushwood, there was once a large city, the capital of a flourishing and powerful kingdom.

Cononel Gerini [3] identifies Śrī-kshētra, with the Mareura Metropolis of Ptolemy, who is reputed to have published his 'Geography' about 140 A.D. In the 7th

[1] *Cf.* L. de Beylié, *Prome et Samara. Voyage archéologique-en Birmanie et en Mesopotamie.* Paris 1907. (Publications de la Société française des fouilles archéologiques I.)

[2] *Cf.* de Beylié, *op. cit.* p. 79.

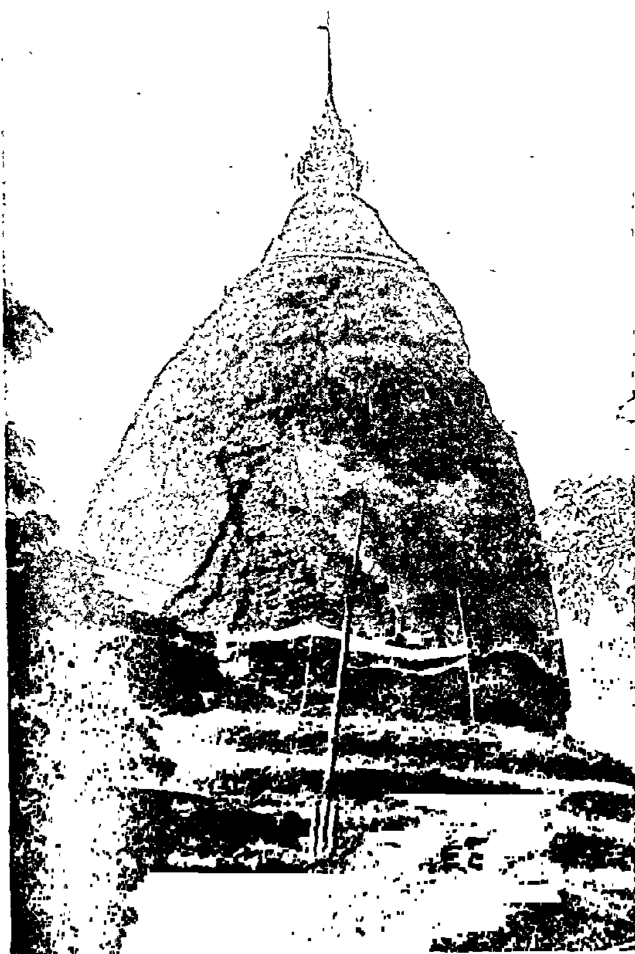
[3] *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia,* pp. 66 ff.

century A.D. Hiuen Thsang (or Yuan Chwang) and I-tsing mention *Shih-li-ch'a-to-lo*, which has been identified with Śrī-kshētra.[1] In the eighth and ninth centuries A.D., the following is recorded in the chapter on "Southern Barbarians" in the Annals of the T'ang dynasty (618—905 A.D.), the kingdom of the Piu or P'iao having been identified with Śrī-kshētra or ancient Prome, although it is quite possible that, at that period, the seat of supreme power had been transferred to Pagān: "When the King of the P'iao goes out in his palankeen, he reposes on a couch of golden cord; but for long distances he rides an elephant. He has several hundred female attendants. The circular wall of his city is built of greenish glazed tiles, and is 160 *li*. It has twelve gates and there are pagodas at each of the four corners. The people all live inside it. Their house tiles are of lead and zinc, and they use the wood of the *Nephelium lichi* as timber. They dislike taking life. They greet each other by embracing the arm with the hand. They know how to make astronomical calculations, and are devotees of Buddhism. They have a hundred monasteries with bricks of vitreous ware, embellished with gold and silver, vermillion, gay colours and red *kino*. The floor is painted and covered with ornamented carpets. The King's residence is in like style. The people cut their hair at seven years of age and enter a monastery. If, at the age of twenty, they have not grasped the doctrine, they become lay people again. For clothes they use a cotton *sarang*, holding that, as silk involves the taking of life, it ought not to be worn. On the head they wear golden-flowered hats with a blue net, or bag set with pearls. In the King's palace there are placed two bells, one of gold, and one of silver; when an enemy comes they burn incense and beat the bells in order to divine their good or evil fortune. There is a huge white image of hundred feet high; litigants burn incense and kneel before the image reflecting within themselves whether they are right or wrong, after which they retire. When there is any disaster or plague, the King also kneels down in front of the image and blames himself......The women twist their hair high up on the crown of the head, and ornament it with strings of pearls; they wear a natural-tinted female petticoat, and throw pieces of delicate silk over themselves. When walking they hold a fan, and the wives of exalted persons have four or five individuals at each side holding fans.

"Nan-chao used to exercise suzerainty over it on account of its contiguity and by reason of the military strength of Nan-chao. Towards the close of the 8th century A.D., the King Yung K'iang, hearing that Nan-chao had become part of the T'ang Empire, had a desire to join China too, and Imousun sent an envoy named Yang Kiaming to Kien-nan. The Viceroy of Si-ch'wan, Wei Kao, begged permission to offer the Emperor some barbarian songs, and, moreover, told the P'iao State to send up some musicians. For specimens of their music see the General Annals. His Majesty Divins Téh made Shu-nan-do President of the Imperial mews, and sent him back. The Governor of Kái-chun submitted a panegyric upon the P'iao music. In the year 832, the Nan-chao Monarch kidnapped three thousand Burmans, and colonised his newly acquired eastern dominions with them."[2]

[1] *Vide* Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, (A. D. 629—645)*, Vol. II, pp. 188-f.; Takakusu, *Record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago* (A.D. 671—695) by I-tsing, p. LI.

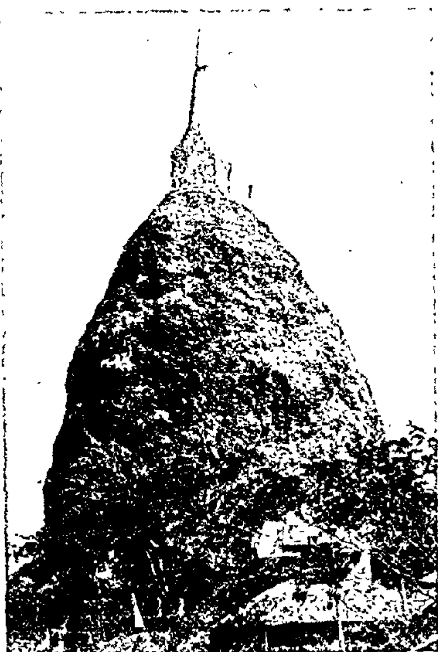
[2] Parker, *Burma: with special reference to her relations with China*, pp. 12-ff.



1. PAYAGYI PAGODA.



2. BAWBAWGYI PAGODA.



3. PAYAMA PAGODA.



4. BEBE PAGODA.

MAP OF THAYEKITTAYA HMAWZA

Scale 2 Inches = 1 Mile



REFERENCES

Nº	NAME	
1	SHWE ZAYAN	PAGODA
2	GA LON GYA	- DO.
3	DO.	- DO.
4	GALÔN THE	- DO.
5	DO.	- DO.
6	NYÌ NYÌ	- DO
7	SET TAING	- DO.
8	DO.	- DO.
9	SINGYIDAING	- DO
10	PAYATAUNG	- DO.
11	TUPAYÔN	- DO.
12	ZEGU	- DO. (East)
13	DO.	- DO. (West)
14	PAYANGOKTO	- DO.
15	ZEYAMINGALAN	- DO.
16	ATWINMÔKTAW	- DO.
17	BÈBÈGYI	- DO.
18	BAWBAWGYI	- DO.
19	YAHANDAGU	- DO.
20	MONTHEMAGON	

Ancient Prome is still known to the Hindus as Brahmodēs, and the Irrawaddy (Ērāvati) river, on which it stands, is regarded by them as second only to the Ganges in its efficacy to wash away sin. The ancient connection of Prome with India is further confirmed by the discovery about seventeen years ago, at a village seven miles to the south of the Hmawza Railway station, of two gold scrolls containing the well-known Buddhist formula "*Yē dhammā hētupabhavā,*" which is incised in the Eastern Chalukyan script of the 10th century A.D.[1] A certain amount of evidence is also afforded by the style of the buildings. Of the cylindrical-shaped Pagodas or ancient date, the best known are the Thaukkyama, Myinbahu, Bawbawgyi, Payagyi and Payama. The first has been thoroughly renovated, and has lost all traces of its original form ; the upper portion of the second has been modernized, but its lower part still retains some of the features of its ancient architecture. Of the remaining three (Plate XLV, figs. 1, 2, and 3), Bawbawgyi is the best preserved and the Government has undertaken to conserve it. This edifice may be described as a high cylindrical superstructure resting on five receding terraces and crowned with an iron *ti*. It has a slight indentation in the centre, and the upper portion below the *ti* is shaped like a cone. It is 153 feet high from the natural ground level to the top of the *ti*, and is 240 feet in circumference. The measurements of the height of its several parts are as follows :—

Square terraces	26 feet.
Cylindrical body of Pagoda	73 „
Conical dome	24 „
Amalaka	5 „
Ti	25 „
TOTAL	153 feet.

There are three peculiarities in the construction of the Bawbawgyi, which are not noticeable in the shrines of Pagān :—

(*i*) The exposed surface of the brickwork on the body of the Pagoda is notched in squares so as to increase the adhesive qualities of the plaster ;

(*ii*) The core of the Pagoda, which is 80 feet high and 10 feet in diameter, is turned into a vertical hollow shaft, in order apparently to secure economy ;

(*iii*) On the north face, two parallel lines, about 4 feet in breadth, run along the whole length of the cylindrical body, almost detaching a thin strip of brickwork from the structure. These lines indicate that the outer covering, which is in layers, was built in a circular form, and that a small segment was added to complete the whole structure.

Ancient Prome, or Śrī-kshētra, served as a buffer state between the Burmese monarchy of Pagān and the Talaing kingdom of Pegu, and it was generally despoiled during the devastating wars of these rival powers. It was ransacked by Anawrata, in the 11th century A.D., when his victorious army returned from Thaton. Many pagodas, including the Bawbawgyi, were robbed of their treasure and relics, which were eventually enshrined in the Shwezigon at Pagān. The following account of the

[1] These valuable records were published in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, Part IV, pp. 101-ff. The originals are now preserved in the British Museum.

[2] *Cf.* also de Beylié, *op. cit.* figs. 61, 63 and 65.

plunder and destruction of Prome in the 16th century A.D. given by Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, who professes to have been an eye-witness illustrates the degree of ruthless vandalism committed by the Burmese and Talaings in the hour of victory which did not spare even the monuments dedicated to the service of religion :[1]

"This treason so concluded," says Pinto, "was effected on the 23rd of August in the year 1545, wherein this Tyrant of Bramaa [Branginoco or Hanthawadi Sinbyu-yin] carried himself with all the barbarousness and cruelty that he used to practise in the like cases. The gate was opened, the city delivered up, the inhabitants all cut to pieces, without so much as sparing one ; the King and Queen made prisoners, their treasure taken, the buildings and temples demolished, and many other inhumanities exercised with such outrageousness, the belief whereof is beyond the imagination and thought of men ; and truly, I never represent unto myself in which manner it was done, as having seen it with mine own eyes, but that I remain astonished and beside myself at it."

Pagodas and temples with their treasure-vaults were objects of cupidity not only during political upheavals, but also in times of peace. Professional treasure-hunters dug into them and despoiled them of their valuable contents ; and these vandals, while pursuing their nefarious vocation, were sometimes assisted by the active sympathy and co-operation of the native officials and the Buddhist clergy. These circumstances, no doubt, account for the somewhat disappointing nature of the excavations hitherto conducted in Burma.

The archæological finds unearthed at Hmawza mainly consist of votive terra-cotta tablets and stone sculptures. The age of the former remains still to be determined, but of one of the latter, namely, the sculptured stone (Plate XLVII, No. 4) found at the Zegu Pagoda (East), Mr. J. H. Marshall, Director General of Archæology, writes :—"This sculpture plainly derives its style from the familiar Gupta work of Northern India. It can hardly be assigned to a later date than the seventh century A.D., and may be earlier." Both the terra-cotta tablets and the stone sculptures belong to a period when it was customary for the votaries of Buddhism in Burma to adore groups of the Buddha and his attendants and devotees carved in stone. This must have preceded, by several centuries, the age when separate images of the Buddha were made of stone, brick or metal.

The sites selected for excavation are indicated on the accompanying map of Hmawza (Plate XLVI).

Zegu Pagoda (East).

It is a structure with an oriented porch, measuring 27 by 24 feet, and arches ornamented with plaster carvings. Its basement is likewise decorated with beautiful mouldings. It must have remained in a neglected condition for many years, because its upper portion has been reduced to a heap of débris overgrown with trees, the biggest of which was about 35 feet in height and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in girth. A shaft, measuring 5 by 3′ by 12′, was sunk in front of the throne of the Buddha in the interior of the shrine. Some clay votive tablets were found. The most important find is the stone sculpture measuring 2′-$8\frac{1}{2}$″ by 1′-$6\frac{1}{2}$″ by 4″, which has been referred to above. (Plate XLVII, fig. 4.) In the

[1] *Cf* C. Scott-O'Connor, *Mandalay and other cities of the past in Burma*, p. 304.

EXCAVATIONS AT HMAWZA NEAR PROME.



1. STONE SCULPTURE FROM THE POGAUNGKANGON.



2. STONE SCULPTURE, PROME.



3. STONE SCULPTURE FROM LEMYETHNA PAGODA.





5. STONE SCULPTURE FROM BAWBAWGYI PAGODA.



STONE SCULPTURE FROM LEMYETHNA PAGODA.


1.


2.


3.

FIGURES OF BUDDHA IN GOLD.


4.


5.

FIGURES OF BUDDHA IN STONE.


6.

STONE HEAD OF BUDDHA.


7.


8.

BRONZE HEAD OF BUDDHA.


9.


10.


11.

upper panel, the Buddha with an aureoled head is represented seated cross-legged between two crowned and well-draped figures, each carrying a *chaurī*, who appear to be two Bōdhisattvas. The face of the Buddha has peeled off; the palm of his left hand rests on the left knee; the right forearm is missing. In the centre of the lower panel is an object, probably the wheel-of-the-law, flanked by what look like kneeling deer, on either side of which are two worshippers in an attitude of adoration. The four worshippers are not represented in a kneeling posture, but with legs crossed. The pair on the proper right are apparently monks, as their heads are shaven, while those on the left appear to be laymen, as they wear high headdresses.

Another interesting stone sculpture (Plate XLVII, fig. 1) measuring 9 feet in height, 6 in breadth, and 1 in thickness, which appears to belong to the same age, was found at Pogaungkangon, which is situated near the Peikthanomyo, a site close to the southern face of the city walls (see map). As usual, the sculpture is divided into compartments, the figures in the lower one having been completely obliterated. The central figure in the upper division is, of course, the aureoled Buddha sitting cross-legged in a peculiar attitude, which approaches the *varadamudrā*, namely, with the left hand resting on the lap, and the right stretched out over the right knee. Both hands and arms are in a damaged condition. The face has been cut off, and the abdomen has been injured. On the proper right of the Buddha's throne, a *makara* head supported by what looks like a leogryph is visible. Behind it is a figure holding a *chaurī*. Close to it are two standing crowned personages with their hands clasped in front of their breast. These two are surmounted by a flying figure, probably a *dēva*. On the proper left of the Buddha are three figures. The first is a *chaurī* bearer, while the second and third, from their drapery and symbols, may probably be identified with Indra or Vajrapāṇi, and a female companion.[1]

Thaungbyegon.

Thaungbyegon is inside the city and close to the southern wall. It takes its name from the tradition that, at one time, ten thousand pagodas were erected on its site. The actual counting of the mounds, however, reveals their number to be only one hundred and twenty-two. Two of these were cleared of débris, and the outlines of cylindrical *stūpas* were discovered. A bronze Buddha head, weighing 45 *tolas*, and the stone head of a crowned personage were found. The former is reproduced as figure 8 on Plate XLVIII. The curls of the hair and the contemplative expression of the face are well represented.

Mōnthèmagōn.

According to the Burmese chronicles, Duttabaung, the founder of Yathemyo, met with a watery grave near Cape Negrais in the 5th century B.C., because he had dispossessed a *Mōnthèma* or female sweet-meat seller of her land, which had been dedicated to a monastery. A mound reported to be the *Mōnthèma's* pagoda was discovered (numbered 20 on the map) and a shaft, measuring 7′ by 5′ by 7′, was sunk into it. A few votive tablets and the fragments of a stone throne of the Buddha were found. The site had evidently been dug into more than once before.

[1] *Cf.* de Beylié, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-ff. and fig. 59.

Singyidaing Pagoda.

[illegible] numbered 9 on the map. At a distance of 200 feet to the east of the [illegible] corner of the walls enclosing the palace site of Yathemyo, there is a low [illegible] covered with thick jungle, which is reputed to have been the site of the [illegible] Pagoda or "the site where the White Elephant was tethered." Close [illegible] feet from it to the east is a tank known as the Sinbyugan or the "Tank [illegible] Elephant." It is about 250 feet in diameter, and is filled with water [illegible] rainy season, but it dries up in April and May. Both are, as tradition [illegible] with the white or sacred elephant belonging to King Duttabaung, the [illegible] Yathemyo. When the jungle was cleared, the mound was found to be 7 [illegible] at the top and 30 feet at the base. Its height is about 7 feet above [illegible] surface of the ground. A trench, measuring 3 feet 6 inches in breadth, [illegible] east to west and across the centre of the mound. A little below the [illegible] and in the trench were found fifty votive clay tablets bearing effigies of the [illegible] more or less broken. They are very similar to those found at the Bawbawgyi, [illegible] Lemyethna Pagodas. The most important find made here, and which is [illegible] first of its kind ever discovered at Yathemyo is a small headless figure of the [illegible] carved in light porous stone, which the Burmese call *andagu*. It is well proportioned, and its workmanship forms a striking contrast, in neatness and finish, to that of the votive tablets. (Plate XLVIII, fig. 4.) At 6 feet 3 inches to the west from the centre of the mound, and 3 feet 9 inches below the top-level, was found the eighth layer—counting from the lowest one—of bricks. At this point, the north-western corner of the basement of the Pagoda was found. In the trench and on the east side of the mound was found a fragment of the stone which apparently formed the lid of the relic chamber. Digging lower down and at 8 feet below the top level, a deep hole was discovered, which had probably been sunk by treasure-hunters and then filled up afterwards. The bricks on this side had been disturbed in their position. The hole indicates that this pagoda has been ransacked, and as it would be hopeless to make any more important or useful finds, the work was stopped and the trench was filled up.

Kanthōnzindaung.

To the south of Hmawza there is a low range of hills isolating Thayekittaya from the Irrawaddy river. Almost every peak of it was once crowned by a pagoda, which is now a shapeless mass of débris. There are indications that, at some ancient period, the hill sides were used for burying the funeral urns of the Pyu race. They are now used for a utilitarian purpose, that is, for quarrying gravel for the railway and the public roads.

On the top of a hill, which is known as Kanthōnzindaung ("Hill of three series of tanks"), a small mound of débris was discovered with a low depression near the centre. It was opened and some important finds were made, most of which consist of terra-cotta votive tablets bearing Sanskrit legends of the well-known Buddhist formula *Yē dhammā hētupabharā*. A great number of them was found a few feet below the surface on the eastern side of the mound. The head of a bronze

statuette of the Buddha with [illegible] of gold on its face was also discovered near the surface. (Plate XLVIII, fig. [illegible].)

Atwin Mõktaw Pagoda.

Among the mounds of débris, which were discovered at Hmawza, the one marking the site of the Atwin Mõktaw Pagoda is the largest (numbered 16 on the map). It measures about 174 feet in diameter at the base and 39 feet in height, and local tradition assigns it to the early centuries before the Christian era. Work was begun on the eastern side of the mound, and a vertical shaft of 10 feet was sunk. The earth was found to be loose, till a layer of bricks was reached. Below it was found a deep vertical shaft similar to that in the Bawbawgyi Pagoda. A man who was sent down this shaft reported that in the dark he had felt something like a stone. The digging was continued to a total depth of 15 feet, when the fragment of a stone, with a figure of an ogre (Burmese *bilu*) cut upon it in low relief was all that was discovered. Only half of the upper part of the figure is left and the remaining portion is missing. The ogre is represented as holding with both hands a club placed on its right shoulder (fig. 1). The figure was probably placed in the core of the Pagoda as a guardian of its valuable contents. There is a superstitious belief among the Burmans that such figures become animated with life, whenever sacrilege is committed on a sacred shrine.



Fig 1.

The pagoda was cleared of débris also on the north side, and the finds made here were a few broken pieces of pottery and three glass marbles of different colours, each measuring about three-fourths of an inch in diameter, and two star-shaped objects in glass. Each of these glass ornaments has a small hole punched through its centre (fig. 2). Evidently, these articles were intended to be strung together and worn as a ceremonial necklace, and were apparently imported from China. Such necklaces are still worn by Chinese mandarins at the present day.

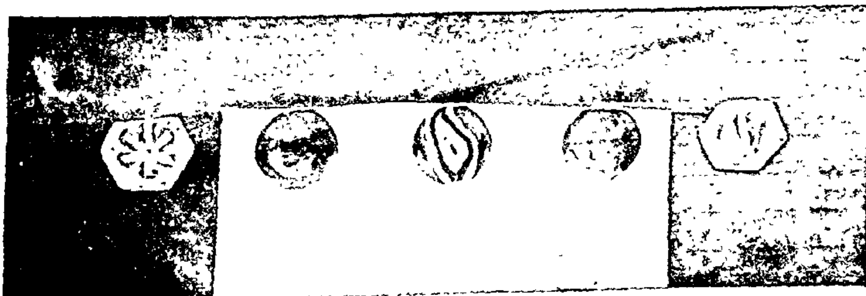


Fig. 2.

There remain other sculptures to be described. In the absence of lithic records and reliable histories, they constitute the main data from which a chapter of the forgotten history of Buddhism in Burma might be compiled. Within the compound of the Settaing Thein Kyaung, to the south of the railway station, Hmawza, there are two rows of stones facing each other, there being three stones in each. The central stone of each row is larger than the others, and both measure about 6′-7″ in breadth, 2′-2″ in thickness and 6′ in height above ground. On each of these central stones is engraved the figure of the Buddha, seated between two disciples. Each disciple has his hands clasped together and raised to the breast, and instead of kneeling, he sits cross-legged, the outer knee being raised a little higher than the other. The stones have been much defaced. The backs of the thrones on which the attendant figures are seated appear to be Chinese in form. At the bottom of the central stone in the southern row is an inscription in an unknown script, which was discovered by the late General de Beylié (Plate L).[1]

In the Bèbè Pagoda, which is a small square edifice, measuring 17′ by 16′ at the base and surmounted by a cylindrical *sikhara* (Plate XLV, fig. 4), there is a large slab of stone measuring 6′ 3″ in breadth, about 1′ 3″ in thickness, and 8′ 2″ in height above the ground level (fig. 3). It bears the effigy of the Buddha seated between two disciples with a Mongolian cast of features, having, as in the case of the other stone sculptures, their hands raised to the breast, and their legs crossed under them. The back of the seats of the disciples is like that in the Settaing Thein Kyaung. In the lower panel there is an inscription in an unknown language, similar in character to that of the Settaing Thein. The inscription has peeled off in many places, and the remaining letters have much weathered.

At the Lemyethna Pagoda, which is a four-sided structure, measuring 22′ 5″ square at the base, there is a masonry pillar in the centre, measuring about 7′ 6″ on each side, which supports the roof of the building. Facing the cardinal points, there appear to have been four sculptured stones embedded in the central pillar. Only two stones, namely, those on the southern and western faces now remain. In the upper panel of the stone facing south the Buddha is represented as seated cross-legged on a throne, in front of which are three flower vases. (Plate XLVII, fig. 6.) His right hand is placed on the right knee with the palm downwards and the fingers projecting outwards, while the left hand is placed in the lap. The head is missing. The Buddha is flanked on the right by a standing figure, probably a Bōdhisattva. On the left is another standing figure in a bad state of preservation, but from what is left of it, it looks like a female. The attitude is not that of one showing any reverence to the Buddha. It has a bangle on its right hand, and is probably a daughter of Māra. In the lower panel is a lotus border between two beaded bands. On the stone facing west (Plate XLVII, fig. 3) the Buddha is represented with an aureoled head over which is a projection probably meant for the foliage of the Bōdhi tree. He is seated in the same manner as the one described above, but the legs cross over one another while those in the latter overlap each other. The Buddha is flanked by two *chaityas* which probably connote deification. The *mudrā* in these two stones, which may be identified with *varada-mudrā*, is strikingly similar and consists in the left

[1] *Cf.* de Beylié, *op. cit.* pp. 82-ff, and figs. 56 and 57.

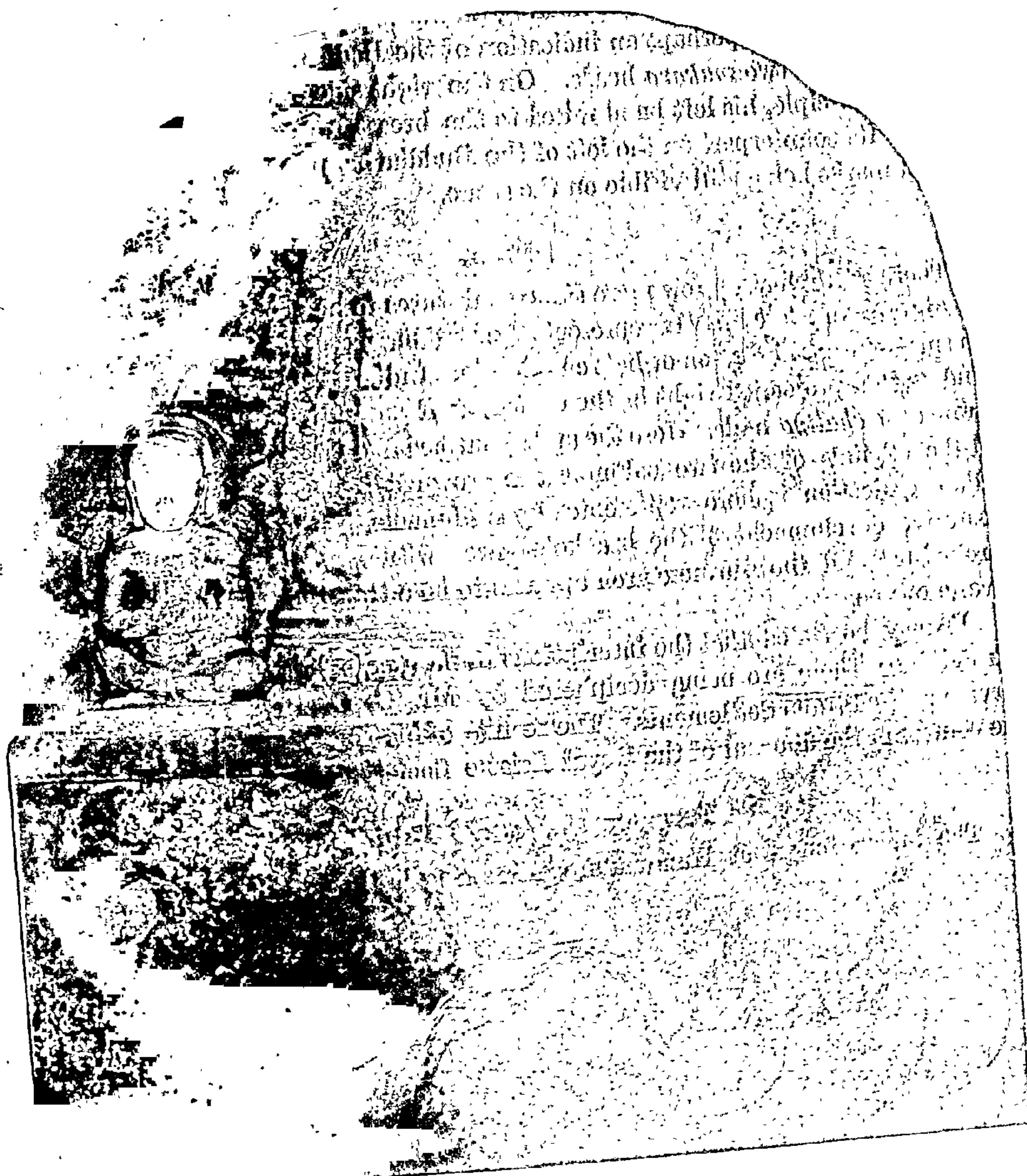


Fig. 3.

hand resting on the lap and the right hand being outstretched and touching the right knee. This peculiarity is seldom met with in modern Buddhist iconography.

Another example of figures sculptured in groups is afforded by a carved stone from the Yahandagu Pagoda (Plate LI). This shrine, which measures 14′-10″ by 8′ internally, is in a bad state of repair, the roof having fallen in. The stone, which is nearly 33 inches high, is placed flush with the south wall. The type of the figures is distinctly Mongolian, and the *mudrā* is that of *bhūmisparśa*, which is most commonly met with.[1] A sculpture was found on a small mound close to the Bawbawgyi Pagoda. (Plate XLVII, fig. 5.) Here the Buddha is represented with an aureoled

[1] Cf. de Beylié, *op. cit.* p. 96. In fig. 68, the Buddhas are erroneously shown in the position of meditation (*dhyāna-mudrā*).

head and seated on a lotus throne holding an almsbowl in both hands. The projection above the nimbus is perhaps an indication of the Bōdhi tree. The back of the throne is decorated with two *makara* heads. On the right side of the Buddha is the seated figure of a disciple, his left hand raised to the breast, and the right hand placed in the lap. Its counterpart on the left of the Buddha has probably been destroyed, traces of chisel marks being still visible on the stone.

Finds.

There still remain a few more stone sculptures to be described.

Figure 2 of Plate XLVII represents the Buddha in the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*. The arch surmounting him is somewhat remarkable. Indian arches are, as a rule, simple and round with a projection right in the centre, as if the model has been copied from the entrance of *chaitya* halls. Here the arch is cusped and is shaped like a double bracket; and the capitals of the two columns are crowned by rudimentary *makaras*. The Indian projection is here represented by a pinnacle, in the form of a lotus-bud. A decorative development of the bracketed arch with *makara* ornaments, is found at Borobudur,[1] and the Burmese arch appears to be a transition between the Indian and Javanese type.

It may be stated that the inscriptions in an unknown script found at Bèbè and the Settaing Thein are being deciphered by Mr. C. O. Blagden, late of the Civil Service of the Straits Settlements. The results of his researches will be published, in due course, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Terra-cotta Votive Tablets.

The tablets found at Hmawza are interesting in that they afford illustrations of

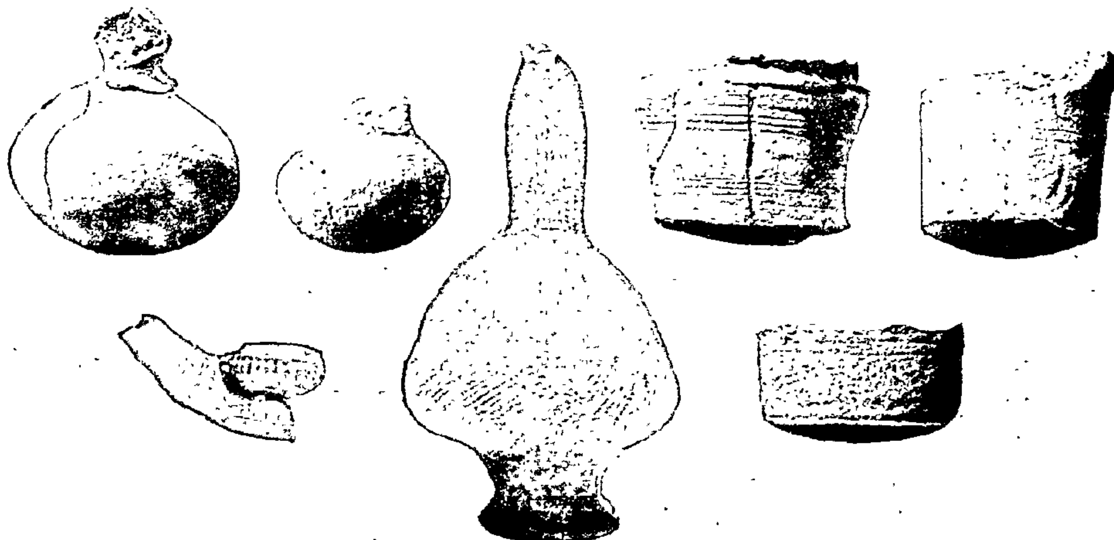
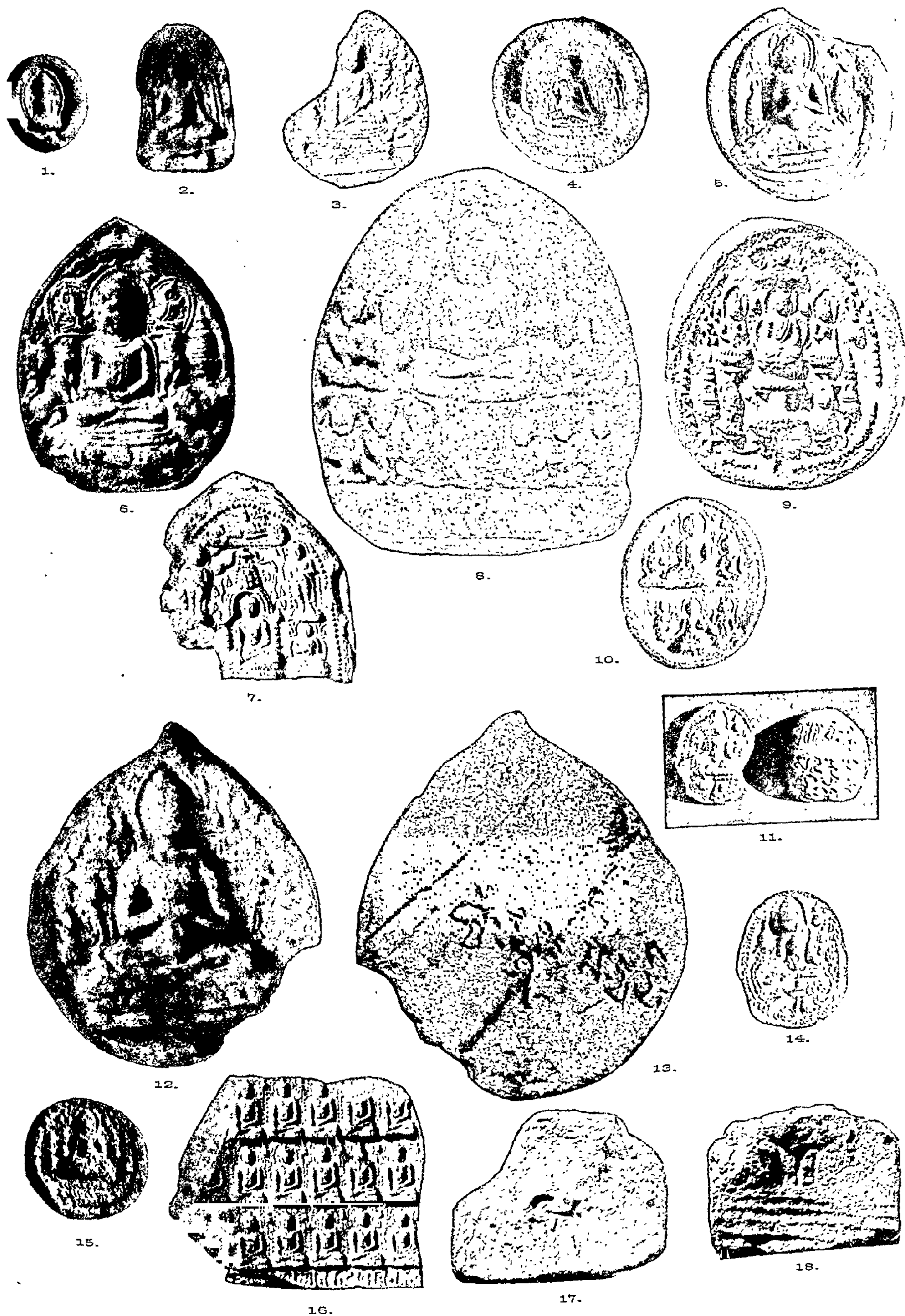


Fig. 4.

the *Mudrās*[2] or hand postures of the Buddha. In Burma, at the present day, there is no Burmese equivalent for the term *mudrā* and only two of them are well-known and generally recognized, namely, the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* and the *abhaya-mudrā*.

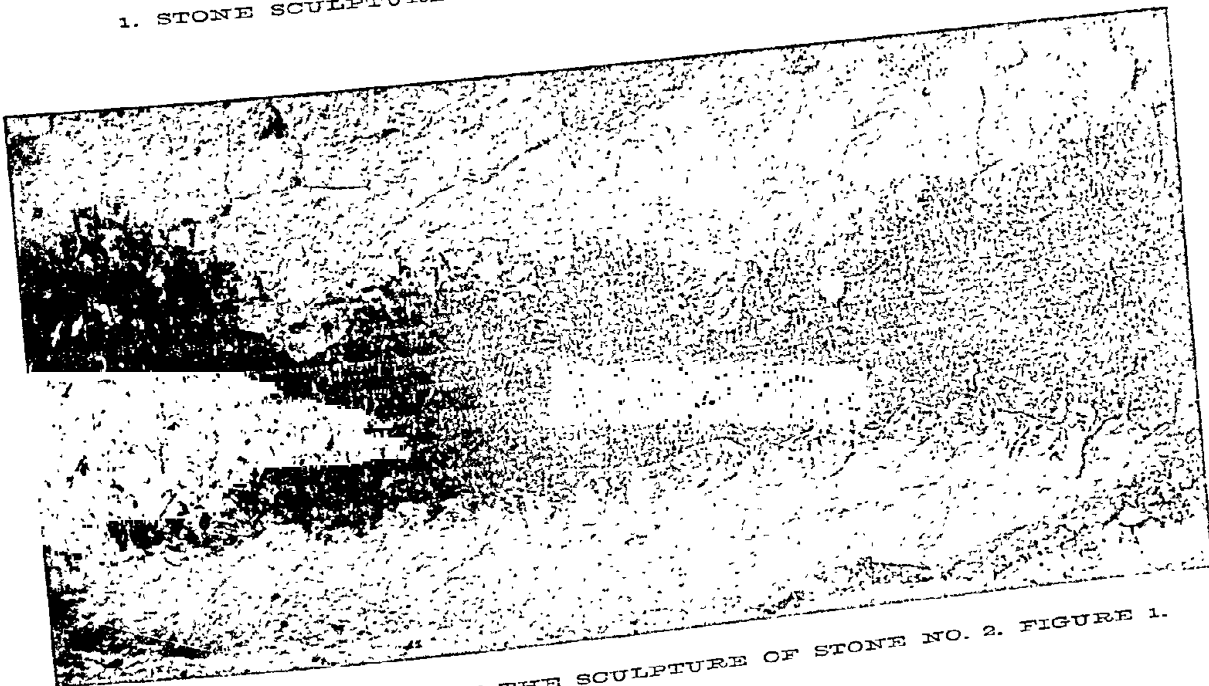
[1] Vide Pleyte, *Die Buddha Legende in den Sculpturen des Borobudur*, figs. 9 and 30.
[2] Vide *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI, p. 25; Waddell, *Lamaism*, pp. 335 ff.


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EXCAVATIONS AT HMAWZA NEAR PROME



1. STONE SCULPTURE FROM THE KYAUKKATHEIN PAGODA.



2. INSCRIPTIONS BELOW THE SCULPTURE OF STONE NO. 2. FIGURE 1.



STONE NO. 3, FIGURE 1, SHOWING
...ND HIS ATTENDANTS.





STONE SCULPTURES FROM THE YAHANDAGU PAGODA.

Figure 1 of Plate XLIX is a diminutive clay seal (m. 045).[1] The *mudrā* is not distinct. In figure 2, the forearm of the right hand is missing, the left hand is outstretched, and touches the left knee. In the nine recognized *mudrās*, described by Burgess and Waddell, the left arm is never outstretched as in this figure. In figure 3, the *mudrā* is *bhūmisparśa*, as also in figures 7 and 10. The *dharmachakra-mudrā* is met with in figures 6, 8 and 12. In figure 8, there are three tiers. In the upper one, the Buddha is flanked on the right by two disciples, and, on the left, by two figures in secular dress. In the middle, are depicted six persons with the Wheel-of-the-Law placed in their midst. The third division, with its figures of deer, refers to the Deer-park near Benares, where the Buddha preached his first sermon. The five figures seated to the Buddha's right which appear to be monks are probably meant for his first five converts—the Pañchavaggiyas. Figure 10 consists of two compartments: in the upper, the Buddha is attended by two Bōdhisattvas, while in the lower, he is placed between two female figures possibly meant for Māra's daughters. Figure 7, when entire,[2] must have represented the eight main scenes in the life of the Buddha: his enlightenment at Bōdh Gayā occupying the centre, and his Nirvāṇa the top. The pose in figures 11 and 14 of Plate XLIX is rarely met with in Burma. Waddell calls it the *lalita-mudrā* or the "Enchanter's pose," *i.e.*, after the manner of the Enchanter, Mañjuśrī. The right leg hangs down with an inclination slightly inwards and the left is loosely bent.

The reverse face of figures 11 and 12, as well as two bricks (figs. 17 and 18 of the same plate) are inscribed with letters in an unknown script.[3]

The ancient Pyu, who occupied Prome, burnt their dead and buried the ashes on the hill sides. Figure 4 illustrates the form of the funeral urns in which the ashes of the dead were deposited and shows other specimens of their earthenware. Figure 4, *f* is a goblet for holding drinking water, and 4, *e* is a tobacco pipe. The ancient people of Prome and Pagân as well as of the Shan States were greatly addicted to smoking, as evidenced by the large number of pipes unearthed in these localities.

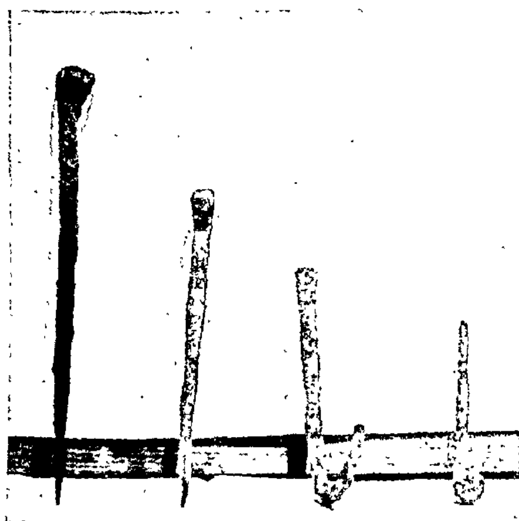


Fig. 5.

Another interesting object is a miniature pagoda cut out of crystal, the shape of which is that of the Bawbawgyi Pagoda, and bespeaks its ancient origin. The iron nails depicted in figure 5 were unearthed on the hill sides together with the funeral urns.

TAW SEIN KO.

[1] *Cf.* de Beylié, *op. cit.* Plate V, No. 1.

[2] In 1906 a complete specimen from the same die was found.

[3] General de Beylié, *op. cit.* p. 89, fig. 62, calls the characters Tibtean, but this must be erroneous.

EPIGRAPHY.

DURING the period under review three parts of the *Epigraphia Indica* were issued, *viz.* Parts VII and VIII of Volume XX. and Part I of Volume X. The last contains the first instalment of Professor Lüders' List of Brāhmī inscriptions (Nos. 1 to 449). The late Dr. T. Bloch has contributed an article on the Umbrella Staff inscription from Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh. The record is very much damaged, but enough remains to make it clear that the inscription is identical with the epigraph on the pedestal of the large standing Bōdhisattva from Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh published by himself (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 180*f.*). He states that no possible doubt can be raised against the correctness of Cunningham's identification of Sahēṭh-Mahēṭh with Śrāvastī. Of the two Buddhist inscriptions from Sārnāth, edited by Dr. Konow, one is the Buddhist creed and the other contains a short enumeration of the *ariyasachchas,* the fundamental doctrines of the Buddhas. These four truths form the essence of the famous Benares sermon, and the inscription is appropriate at the spot where the Buddha first "turned the wheel of the law." The language of the inscription is the Pāli of Buddhist literature, and Dr. Konow thinks the passage cut on the stone is meant as a quotation from the Buddhist Canon. In this case, we have epigraphical proof of the existence of a Pāli Canon in the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. This is, besides, the first old inscription of Northern India in the language of the Southern Canon.

The Ābhōṇa Plates published by Mr. Pathak belong to the time of the Kaṭachchuri king Śaṅkaragaṇa, and are dated in Kalachuri Saṁvat 347, corresponding to A.D. 595. The Āraṅg copper-plate edited by Mr. Hira Lal introduces a family of Gupta feudatories, ruling apparently over Chattīsgaṛh, of whom the following succession is given :—

Śūra
|
Dayita (I).
|
Vibhīshaṇa.
|
Bhīmasēna (I)
|
Dayitavarman (II).
|
Bhīmasēna (II).

The date of the record is the Gupta year 282 corresponding to A.D. 601. Udayasēna of the Muṇḍēśvarī inscription published by Mr. R. D. Banerji is not known from other records. His date is the year 30 which Mr. Banerji thinks must be referred to the Harsha era. The Timmapuram plates of Vishṇuvardhana I. Vishamasiddhi are undated; but, according to Professor Hultzsch, Vishṇuvardhana was still a dependant of his elder brother, the Western Chalukya king Pulikēśin II. at the time of the grant. The order contained in it was issued from Pishṭapura, the modern Piṭhāpuram in the Gōdāvari District. The Chandrāvatī inscription of Chandradēva edited by Dr. Konow is the earliest known record of the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj. The same scholar publishes the Sārnāth inscription of Kumaradēvī, queen of Gōvindachandra. Kumaradēvī is said to have been a daughter of the lord of Pīṭhī, *i.e.*, Piṭhāpuram in the Gōdāvari District. The Nārāyanpāl record of Guṇḍamahādēvī dated in A.D. 1111 adds to our knowledge of the history of Bastar in the Central Provinces, which Mr. Hira Lal has been trying to elucidate, by giving us the names of three Nāga kings who ruled over that part of the country, *viz.* Dhārāvarshadēva, his son Sōmēśvaradēva and his grandson Kanharadēva. The Ārigōm (ancient Hādigrāma in Kashmir) inscription records the construction of a *vihāra* by Rāmadēva, son of Kulladēva, in order to replace a wooden structure burnt down by king Siṁha, whom Dr. Konow identifies with Jayasiṁha (A.D. 1128). The inscription is dated in Saṁvat 73 which must be referred to the Laukika era. In this case, the date would correspond to A.D. 1197.

In the Jāmi' Masjid at Burhānpūr (Central Provinces) is a Sanskrit inscription dated in A.D. 1590, recording the construction of the mosque by the Fārūqi king Ādil Shāh. The Krishṇāpuram plates published by Messrs. T. A. Gopinatha Rao and Rao Sahib T. Raghaviah belong to the time of the Vijayanagara king Sadāśiva. They are dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1489, the cyclic year Prabhava, corresponding to A.D. 1567-8 and are two years subsequent to the battle of Talikota. According to Mr. Hira Lal, the spurious Lāphā plate purporting to be dated in [Vikrama-]Saṁvat 806 (=A.D. 749) during the reign of the Haihaya king Prithvīdēva was fabricated "somewhere between 1860 and 1870 A.D. by a Sanskritist of Ratanpur."

The earliest inscriptions discovered during the year under review are from Southern India, where two more caverns with rock-cut beds and Brāhmī inscriptions were discovered in the Madura District. None of these inscriptions have so far disclosed any king's name. But they show that the possession of an alphabetical system was one of the factors in the civilization of the Pāṇḍya kingdom in the second and third centuries B.C. In the Northern Circle, nine inscriptions belonging to the Kushaṇa period have been brought to light. They range in date from the year 31 to the year 84. Huvishka's dates are 31, 35 and 42 and the inscription of the year 84 belongs to the time of Vāsudēva. Dr. Vogel considers the reign of Huvishka as the great flourishing period of Mathurā art. At Mōrā he has found the remains of a building with considerable fragments of images in the Kushaṇa style which belong apparently to four standing figures, three male and one female. Dr. Vogel connects these fragments with the "images of the five heroes" mentioned in the Mōrā inscription of the Great Satrap Rājūvula. In this case, the inscription on the

female figure dated during the reign of Huvishka would show that Rājūvula and his son were not independent rulers of Mathurā but governors under the Kushaṇa king Huvishka, provided the two records are contemporaneous.

An archaic inscription from Olakkûr in the South Arcot District (No. 356 of 1909) furnishes the name of a new king, *viz.*, Pṛithivīviṭapāṅkura-Adiyaraiyaṉ. Perhaps he was a Pallava king or chief. Of the Chalukyas of Bādāmi an important copper-plate record has been brought to light during the period under review. It was found originally at Gadval in the Nizam's Dominions. It is dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 596=A.D. 674, which was the 20th year of the reign of Vikramāditya I., surnamed Raṇarasika, Anivārita and Rājamalla. He is also described as "the destroyer of the Mahāmalla family." On the occasion of making the grant, the king's army "had entered the Chōḷika country and was encamped at Uragapura on the southern bank of the river Kāvērī." Uragapura seems to be a Sanskṛitized form of the Tamil name Uṟaiyūr. And as Uṟaiyūr is actually situated on the southern bank of the river Kāvērī and was the Choḷa capital in early times, it is not impossible that this town is meant. Negapatam (Nāgappaṭṭiṇam in Tamil) may also be the Tamil equivalent of Uragapura, though it is not on the southern bank of the river Kāvērī. This mention of the Chalukya army having been encamped at Uragapura proves that the Chalukyas did actually penetrate as far south as the Chōḷa country in their wars against the Pallavas. The fact that the Chalukya army advanced beyond the Pallava dominions into Chōḷa country may show that the Chōḷas (and perhaps also the Pāṇḍyas) combined with the Pallavas in opposing the invading Chalukyas. The Pallava opponent of Vikramāditya I. was Paramēśvaravarman who claims to have taken the city of Raṇarasika (*i.e.*, Vikramāditya I.) and to have defeated him at Peruvaḷanallūr. This place has not yet been identified. There is, however, very little doubt that it must have been in the Tamil country, to judge by the name. If this be the case, it is clear that Vikramāditya I. must have invaded the Pallava dominions. And it is not unlikely that this invading army penetrated as far south as the southern bank of the river Kāvērī. As the Pallava records are not dated, the chronological order of these events is not absolutely certain. Perhaps Paramēśvaravarman repulsed at Peruvaḷanallūr a counter-invasion undertaken in consequence of his attack on the Chalukya capital Vātāpi.

A second inscription at Olakkūr in the South Arcot District records the death of a hero when the village was destroyed during the reign of Kampa-Perumāḷ (*i.e.*, Kampavikramavarman). At Tiruveḷḷarai near Trichinopoly, a number of inscriptions on a rock were covered by a modern platform built over it. This has recently been removed disclosing a number of Pallava, Pāṇḍya and early Chōḷa inscriptions. One of them belongs to the reign of the Pallava-Mahārāja Dantinandivarman of the Brahma-Kshatra family. It is not unlikely that Dantinandivarman was the son of a Dantivarman. Now Dantivarma-Mahārāja of the Triplicane inscription calls himself *Pallavakula-tilaka*. Dantivarman of the Tiruveḷḷarai inscription claims to belong to the Pallavatilaka-kula which sprang from the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*. Dantinandivarman was a member of the Brahma-Kshatra *kula*. And a certain Nandippōttaraiyar who probably lived in the 3rd quarter of the 9th century A.D. belonged to the Pallavatilaka-kula. It stands to reason that the foregoing two

Dantivarmans and Nandivarmans should be kept distinct from the Gaṅga-Pallava kings Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman and Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman, who nowhere claim any connection either with the Pallavatilaka-*kula* or with the Brahma-Kshatra family. There is no doubt that there were some disturbances and a war of succession on the death of the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman II. The Udayēndiram plates report that Chitramāya-Pallava, who was probably one of the claimants to the throne, was slain by the usurper Nandivarman-Pallavamalla, who belonged to a collateral line. It may be supposed that those kings whose names do not stamp them as Gaṅga-Pallavas belonged to the branch of Paramēśvaravarman II, until we know more about the history of Southern India in the 8th and 9th centuries A.D.

The Bezwada inscription of Yuddhamalla is an interesting ancient Telugu record in verse which may be assigned to the 9th century A.D. The inscription consists of several sections, which record the building of a temple at Bejavāḍa for the god Komarasvāmi by a certain Nṛipadhāmuṇḍu, while king Rājāśraya Satyatriṇētra Yuddhamalla, the beloved (son) of Nṛipāṅkuśa was ruling. The second section refers to the king's grand-father Mallaparāja. The third section seems to report that a temple of Kārttikēya was built on the occasion of the king's coronation. A portion of the inscription has to be read from the bottom upwards. The record shows that literary Telugu flourished even before the time of Nannaya-Bhaṭṭa, the author of the earliest extant Telugu work composed in the 11th century A.D. under the auspices of the Eastern Chalukya king Rājarāja I. (A.D. 1022-63).

The earliest epigraph discovered in the Western Circle is from Sakrāī and is dated in Saṁvat 879. It records the construction of a *maṇḍapa* by certain *gōshṭhikas* in front of the goddess Śaṅkarā, now called Śākambharī. At Chātsu in the Jaipur State is an inscription which refers to a new Guhila dynasty. A Chāhmāna king named Śivarāja had a daughter named Raṭṭavā who was married by the Guhila prince Bālāditya or Bālārka. The main object of the inscription is to record that Bālāditya built a temple of Murāri in commemoration of his dead queen Raṭṭavā. The epigraph is not dated, but Mr. Bhandarkar thinks there can be little doubt that it has to be assigned to the 10th century A.D. Among the stones recently added to the Ajmer Museum, there are three inscribed ones, two from Pushkar and the third from Byānā. One of the stones from Pushkar bears two inscriptions, the first dated in Saṁvat 982, while the second, whose date is not quite certain, mentions Durgarāja. The second stone from Pushkar is much damaged but mentions Vākpatirāja, probably identical with the Paramāra Vākpati Muñjarāja. The temple at Haras (Jaipur State) known as Harasnāth was built in V.E. 1013 by a certain Allaṭa, who was the disciple of a Lakulīśa-Pāśupata teacher named Praśasta. It is interesting to note that Harsha was the tutelary deity of the Chāhamāna family. The Harsha inscription of Vigraharāja (dated in V. E. 1030) which furnishes this information was edited some years ago by the late Professor Kielhorn (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 16). Of the same king a record has been found at Sakrāī. It reports that Dayikā, queen of Vachchharāja, *i.e.*, Vatsarāja, uncle of Vigraharāja, repaired the temple of Śaṅkarādēvī. The inscription ends with the date *Saṁvatsara 55, Māgha śudi* 5. It is evident that the hundreds are here omitted, as we know from the foregoing inscription that Vigraharaja was living in V.E. 1030. The date of the Sakrāī record must, therefore, be 1055.

The Eastern Chalukyas of Vêṅgî are represented by the Vêmalūrpāḍu plates of Amma II. (A.D. 945-70) which resemble the Maliyapūṇḍi grant published by Professor Hultzsch (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 47) in the historical portion. Maṅgi and Saṅkila, the two opponents of Vijayāditya III. referred to in the latter, are also mentioned here as rulers of Noḍamba-rāshṭra and Ḍāhaḷa, respectively. The grant registered in the plates was made at the instance of the general Duggarāja, the great-grandson of the famous Pāṇḍarāṅga mentioned as a contemporary of Vijayaditya III. in the Masulipatam plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V., p. 123).

As may naturally be expected, the history of the Tamil country is intimately associated with that of Ceylon. During the period of Chōḷa ascendancy in Southern India, the contact with Ceylon was more intimate than at any other time. Parāntaka I. (A.D. 907 to 948) claims to have conquered Ceylon. But no records have so far been found to substantiate this claim. The earliest Chōḷa records found in the island belong to the reign of Rājarāja I. (A.D. 985-1013). These were discovered already in 1895. The Archæological Commissioner for Ceylon recently found Tamil records in the Śiva and Vishṇu temples at Polannaruva and sent impressions of them for decipherment to Mr. Krishna Sastri. Of these, the only complete inscription belongs to the reign of the Chōḷa king Parakēsarivarman *alias* Adhirājēndradēva. A fragment of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. (A.D. 1011-43) was found among the incomplete ones. These Chōḷa records found in Ceylon coupled with the fact that, according to the Singhalese chronicle *Mahāwansa*, there was an interregnum about the period to which they have to be assigned, prove that the Chōḷa conquest of Ceylon was not merely a victorious inroad but an actual occupation of the island. One of the monuments of Chōḷa rule in the island is the temple of Śiva called Vāṇavaṇmādēvīśvaram-uḍaiyār at Jananāthamaṅgalam. Both the village and the temple situated in it were called, the one after a Chōḷa king Jananātha and the other after a Chōḷa queen named Vāṇavaṇmādēvī. Mr. Krishna Sastri thinks that Jananāthamaṅgalam was a name of Polannaruva itself. The Chōḷa conquest and subjugation of the island was so complete that Rājarāja ordered some of the villages in the island to contribute to the daily requirements of the Tanjore temple built by him.

Coming to the history of the Chōḷas we find that Rājakēsarivarman Rājādhirājadēva (A.D. 1018-53) also bore the name Vijaya-Rājēndradēva. The king appears to have assumed this name towards the close of his reign. An inscription from Kōnērirājapuram in the Tanjore District dated during the reign of Rājakēsarivarman Vijaya-Rājēndradēva refers to his "taking the head of the Pāṇḍya king, capture of Śālai of the Chēra king, of Laṅkā (Ceylon) and of the Raṭṭapāḍi seven and a half lakh (country)." These conquests are generally mentioned in inscriptions of Rājakēsarivarman Rājādhirājadēva. This identity of Rājādhirāja (I.) with Vijaya-Rājēndradēva was already pointed out in a previous report and is now further confirmed by an epigraph from Ālambākkam whose historical introduction is that of Rājādhirāja. The name of the king here given is Rājakēsarivarman *alias* Uḍaiyār Śrī-Vijaya-Rājēndradēva.

It was the practice in ancient times, whenever a temple had to be rebuilt, to copy the lithic records found on its walls into a book and then re-engrave them again

on the new walls. Several such cases were noticed in previous years. The Vyāghrapādēśvara temple at Siddhaliṅgamaḍam in the South Arcot District appears to have been rebuilt of stone in the reign of Jayadhara *alias* Rājēndra Chōḷa II. The earlier records found on its walls appear to have been re-engraved after the repairs had been completed. The Nāṭṭukōṭṭai Chetties who are rebuilding ancient Śiva temples on a large scale in the Tamil country will do well to bear in mind that the inscriptions which they ruthlessly pull asunder were highly valued in ancient times.

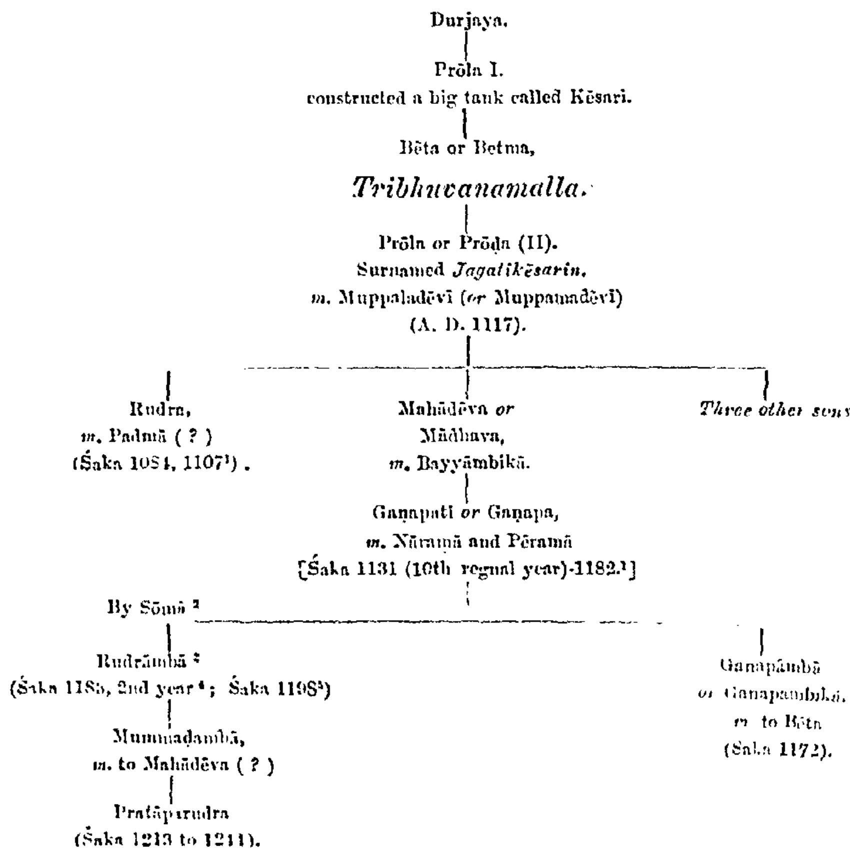
At Raghunāthgaḍh in the Jaipur State is an inscription dated V.E. 1150 referring itself to the reign of a Chandel king, whose name is, however, not mentioned. This shows that the local traditions are correct in saying that the country was once in the possession of the Chandel Rajputs. At Jiṇ-Mātā (Jaipur State) Mr. Bhandarkar has found several records of the imperial Chāhamāna dynasty. The earliest of them is dated in V.E. 1162 during the reign of Pṛithivīdēva, *i.e.*, Pṛithivīrāja I. and records the rebuilding of the temple of the goddess Jiṇ-Mātā (Mahishāsuramardini) by one Haṭhada, son of Mohila. Mr. Bhandarkar remarks that the goddess has eight arms and that her drinking propensities are notorious. Two other inscriptions of the same temple belong to the time of Arṇṇarāja, *i.e.*, Arṇōrāja, son of Pṛithivīrāja I. and contemporary of the Solaṅki king Kumārapāla, and are dated in Saṁvat 1196. A fourth epigraph dated in Saṁvat 1230 records the building of the *maṇḍapa* of the temple during the reign of Somēśvara, *i.e.*, the Chāhamāna sovereign Sōmēśvara.

Of the early Pāṇḍyas, an inscription has been found at Tiruveḷḷarai of Māṛañjaḍaiyaṉ surnamed Pāṇḍya-Mahārāja, whom Mr. Krishna Sastri identifies with the Māṛañjaḍaiyaṉ of the Trichinopoly cave inscription and the Varaguṇa-Mahārāja of the Ambāsamudram record. The most interesting among the later Pāṇḍya inscriptions is a record of Jaṭāvarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Sundara-Pāṇḍya (No. 315 of 1909). It sets forth that a few Brāhmaṇas and a few Veḷḷāḷa Śūdras, arming themselves with weapons, committed murders, insulted Brāhmaṇa women, committed robbery and destroyed cattle. The matter was reported to the local authorities who punished the offenders. Evidently the punishment had no deterrent effect and the people again complained against these rebels. The next governor of the province commissioned one of his subordinates to deal with the rebels effectively and despatched a regiment of Malaiyāḷa soldiers to his help. Two of the rebels were secured but were subsequently liberated by the others who attacked the officers of the king and their party. The king then issued stringent orders that the rebels should "be captured wherever found and punished according to rules applicable to the lower classes; that their houses and other hereditary property be sold to temples or other charitable institutions; that the money thus realised be credited to the treasury in payment of the fine imposed on them; and that the balance, if any, be presented to temples as a permanent charity in the names of the criminals." The causes for this outbreak are not given. Vaḷḷuvanāḍāḻvāṉ "governor of Vaḷḷuvanāḍu" was the commissioner entrusted with the suppression of the rebels. He was evidently a man from Malabar. And the regiment of Malaiyāḷa soldiers were probably Nairs. How they came to be in the vicinity of Tirukkachchūr in the Chingleput District is not stated. It may be that the Nairs

of Malabar were looked upon as intrepid soldiers in ancient times and were in requisition wherever there was war or rebellion.

Kākatīya history receives fresh elucidation from the inscriptions of the dynasty copied during the year under review in the Palnāḍ and Bāpaṭlat tālukas of the Guntur District. The accompanying genealogy of the dynasty is based on these as well as the other known records of the dynasty.

Kākatīya genealogy.



At Mōṭupalle is a charter of Gaṇapati (dated in A.D. 1244-5) issued in favour of merchants trading on sea whose vessels used to call at or start from the seaport of Mōṭupalle, otherwise known as Dēśiyuyyakkoṇḍapaṭṭaṇa. These vessels are stated to have been trading with islands and coast towns in distant countries. The kings used to confiscate all the cargo, gold, elephants, horses, precious stones, *etc.*, of vessels which, on account of unfavourable weather, were stranded and wrecked near Mōṭupalle. King Gaṇapati declares : " Seeing that protection of my subjects is far more important to me than my life, we have remitted out of compassion all taxes except *kōpaśulka* on these enterprising merchants trading on the sea in order

[1] See the Madras Epigraphical Report for 1905-06, paragraph 43.
[2] See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI., p. 199.
[3] According to Marco Polo, the Venetian, Rudrāmbā reigned for over 40 years.
[4] See the Madras Epigraphical Report for 1905-06, paragraph 44.
[5] No. 218 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1897.

to secure fame and to maintain the principles of a righteous government." *Kūpaśulka* probably corresponds to the modern customs duty and comprised the following articles: sandal-wood, country camphor, China camphor, pearls, rose water, ivory, civet (*javādu*), camphor-oil (*karpūra-taila*), copper, zinc, riscya (*resin*), lead, silk-thread, corals, perfumes, pepper and areca-nuts.

The Reḍḍi chief Annapōta supplemented in A.D. 1358-9 this charter of Gaṇapati. He permitted the merchants of Mōṭupalle who treated with distant islands and coast towns to stop at their will in their houses at Mōṭupalle and to leave for other places (without any official pressure). He also remitted the tax called *aputrika-daṇḍam* on foreign merchants who traded in his dominions. The duties on gold and silver were abolished; a third of the export duty on sandal was remitted and merchants were allowed the liberty to sell their imports to anybody under any conditions and to export any goods they chose. It was also proclaimed that henceforward no cloths would be detained in the warehouse (?) and tolls on other articles would under no circumstances be different from what they were before. The following rates were also fixed:—

(*A*) Goods from the South: on 100 packages of import, 3 packages; on 100 cloths of export, 2 coins (?).

(*B*) Imports from the North: on 100 packages 5; on 100 cloths of export 3 coins (?).

(*C*) On exports: 3 coins (?) on 100 cloths. D. 7½ (coins (?)) on 100 pearls.

In the Burma Circle 53 inscriptions were copied from the Prome, Rangoon, Pegu, Magwe, Thayetmyo and Sagaing districts. Of these 26 are in the Talaing language and the rest in Burmese dating from the 12th and later centuries of the Christian era.

The Archæological Surveyor of the Northern Circle gives a list of 205 Musalmān inscriptions copied by his assistants. The earliest of them is dated in Hijra 593 (A.D. 1197) and is one of the oldest in India. Another found in the Purana Qila at Delhi is in Sanskrit and Persian and records that "12 bighas of land with a pucca well near the Qila Kuhna have been bought and a temple of Shri-Kirishna Bhagwan was erected." The income from this land was to be spent on the temple. Mr. Bhandarkar has also copied a few Sanskṛit records of Muḥammadan kings. Alāvadī, *i.e.*, Alā-ud-dīn, of Jōginīpura, *i.e.*, Delhi, is mentioned as the king in an inscription at Pāṇḍukhā (Jodhpur) dated in Saṁvat 1358 and at Jiṇ-Mātā (Jaipur) is one dated in Saṁvat 1382 when Maḥamadasāhi, *i.e.*, Muḥammad Tughlaq, was reigning. The emperor Akbar is represented as the sovereign in an inscription at Bairāṭ dated in Śaka 1509 and his son Jahangir in a record of Saṁvat 1677 from Meḍtā (Jodhpur). In the Southern Presidency, Mr. Krishna Sastri has discovered a Telugu epigraph of the Quṭb Śhāhis of Golkonda.

The inscriptions copied during the year throw some light on Jainism and its teachers. In Southern India, Jaina antiquities have been found in Koṅgar Puḷiyaṅguḷam and Muttuppaṭṭi, where caverns with rock-cut beds were also discovered, as well as in two other villages of the Madura District. The former are accompanied by Vaṭṭeḷuttu inscriptions which mention several Jaina teachers. Ajjana-

already known to us from other epigraphical records is one of them. His mother Guṇamadiyār is also referred to. Kuraṇḍi Aṭṭa-upavāsi Bhaṭāra of Veṇbu-nāḍu was another and his two disciples were Guṇasēna and Māgaṇandi. Guṇasēna's pupil was Kanakavīra-Periyaḍigal. Kanakanandi-Bhaṭāra, his pupil Abinandaṇ Bhaṭāra (I), his pupil Arimaṇḍala-Bhaṭāra and the latter's pupil Abinandaṇ Bhaṭāra (II) are the other teachers mentioned in these Vaṭṭeluttu records. A careful collation of these with the inscriptions found at Kaḷugumalai and other ancient Jaina centres would surely yield valuable results for the history of the Jaina sect in Southern India. We know from Tamil literature that the Jainas continued in the Pāṇḍya kingdom down to the 7th century A.D., when the Śaiva saint Turajñānasambandar discomfited them in a religious disputation and converted the then reigning Pāṇḍya king from Jainism. If the Pāṇḍya king was a Jaina in the 7th century A.D., there must have been a very large number of followers of that creed in his dominions. Consequently, it is no wonder that we find ancient Jaina monuments, in the Madura and Tinnevelly districts. That these should be found in such close proximity to monuments which may tentatively be assigned to Buddhism requires some explanation. Future researches must decide what relationship the two creeds bore to one another in the Tamil country.

The inscriptions which Mr. Bhandarkar examined in Rajputana furnish the names of a number of later Jaina teachers. The temple of Pārśvanātha at Bairāṭ (the ancient Virāṭapura of the *Mahābhārata*) is now in the possession of the Śrāvgīs, *i.e.*, the Digambara Jainas There can, however, be no doubt, says Mr. Bhandarkar, that the temple originally belonged to the Śvētāmbaras. An inscription built into one of the enclosure walls of the temple, dated in Śaka 1509=A.D. 1587 refers to Hīravijaya as the pontiff and Akbar as the sovereign. Of Hīravijaya of the Tapā-*gachchha* we know from other sources that he persuaded the emperor Akbar to issue an edict forbidding the slaughter of animals for 6 months, to abolish the confiscation of the property of deceased persons, the *Sujījia* tax and a *śulka*, to set free many captives, snared birds and animals, to present Śatruṁjaya to the Jainas and to establish a Jaina library. His pupil was Vimalaharsha. One of the inscriptions found on the hill called Śivḍungar near Chāṭsū, dated in Saṁvat 1556, mentions Padmanandin of the Mūla-*saṅgha*, Sarasvatī-*gachchha*, Balātkāra-*gaṇa* and the line of the *āchārya* Kundakunda. Padmanandin[2] was followed by Śubhachandra and Jinachandra. One of the pupils of the latter was Ratnakīrti. A record of V.E. 1677=A.D. 1620 from Meḍtā (Jodhpur) refers to Jinarājasūri of the Kharatara-*gachchha* and Jinasāgara. Jinarāja was the pupil and successor of Jinasiṁha who is said to have received the title of *Yugapradhāna* from the emperor Jehangir. He also built *vihāras* or temples in Kabila (Kābul) and Kāshmīra, and caused the edict of non-slaughter to be proclaimed at Śrīkara, Śrīpura (Śrīnagar) and Garjjāṇāka (Gazni). Jinasiṁha was the pupil of Jinachandra, on whom, it is said, the title of *Yugapradhāna* had been conferred by Akbar. Of Jinachandra it is said that he caused the edict of non-slaughter to be annually promulgated during the periods of *ashṭāhika*

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 38.

[2] Padmanandin was an old Jaina teacher who is identified with Kundakundāchārya in an inscription at Vijayanagara.

and *shāṇmāsika*, saved the lives of fish and other aquatic animals in the sea near Stambhatīrtha, *i.e.*, Cambay, and caused the tax at Śatruṁjaya and other places to be discontinued. Reference is also made to the *Upādhyāya* Samayarāja and the *Vāchakas* Haṁsapramōda, Samayasundara and Puṇyapradhāna. Of these, Samayarāja was a pupil of Jinachandra and Samayasundara the preceptor of Harshanandana. The earliest record of the Kharatara-*gachchha* at Meḍtā is dated in V.E. 1507 and speaks of an image of Śāntinātha as having been installed by Jinabhadra and Jinasāgara. Of the Tapā-*gachchha* pontiffs also a few are mentioned. An inscription dated V.E. 1653 refers to the installation of an image of Śāntinātha by Vijayasēnasūri[1] of the Tapā-*gachchha*. Inscriptions of the time of his pupil Vijayadēvasūri are dated V.E. 1677-87. The earliest record of the *gachchha*, dated in Saṁvat 1569, refers to the consecration of an image of Sumatinātha by Hēmavimalasūri.

As regards Indian mythology, a few words are necessary. Dr. Vogel has found additional proof of the prevalence of Nāga worship in ancient Mathurā in an inscribed statuette which was being worshipped as Dāu-jī (Baldēv) in a temple in the city of (Mathurā), but which undoubtedly represents a Naga. He adds: "The Nāgas were supposed to reside in rivers, springs, lakes, ponds and tanks and to possess power to yield rain. This explains why they are so extensively worshipped by the agricultural population of India." The Yakshas, of whom Kubēra, the god of wealth, was the chief, were regarded as keepers of treasure and worshipped accordingly. At Tāyāpur near Mathurā was obtained a sculpture which represents a female deity seated with an infant in her lap and four children between her feet. The pedestal is carved with a group of children at play. Dr. Vogel has no doubt that there is a close relation between this sculpture and effigies of Hārītī, the goddess of fertility and queen of the Yakshas. The villagers were worshipping this image as Gāndhārī, the mother of the Kauravas. Dr. Vogel also notices a sculpture of the god Sūrya seated on his chariot. The number of horses by which the chariot is drawn is only four here, while according to Brahminical iconography the number is seven.

In one of the rock-cut shrines at Kuṇṇakkuḍi in the Madura District (Madras Presidency) is an interesting group of sculptures. The group consists of a four-armed figure of the god Vishṇu; Brahman holding in two of his hands the *padma* and the water vessel (*kamaṇḍalu*) and folding the palms of the two other arms in a worshipping posture; the god Śiva with four arms holding a deer in one hand and a club in the other, while the other two hang down. On the right top of this image of Śiva is a swan. On his right(?) side again is figured a standing image of Vishṇu in a worshipping posture. This appears to be an earlier representation of Śiva as Lingōdbhava, in which the gods Śiva, Vishṇu and Brahman are cut on a tall *liṅga*. Śiva is there figured in relief over a countersunk depression of the *liṅga*, while Brahman and Vishṇu are cut in relief on the surface of the *liṅga*, the former at the top and the latter at the bottom. Mr. Bhandarkar refers to a sculpture of this scene discovered by him during the year under review at Haras (Ḥarsha) in Jaipur. At Ālambākkam in the Trichinopoly District is a record of the Chōla king

[1] He was the successor of Hiravijaya and was called by the emperor Akbar to Lābhapura (Lahore) and received from him great honours; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 38.

Rājakēsarivarman which refers to a temple of Saptamātṛikā. This Mr. Krishna Sastri identifies with the modern Śelliyammaṇ temple where the inscription has been found. During the reign of Rājādhirāja, this temple continued to be dedicated to "the seven mothers." In a later record the same shrine seems to be referred to by "the shrine of Piḍāri." An inscription of the Western Chālukya king Bhūlōkamalla dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1051, the Saumya-Saṁvatsara (=A.D. 1129-30), records a gift to a temple of the Hindu Trinity, *viz.*, Brahman, Vishṇu and Śiva at Gurizāla in the Guntur District. The inscription is engraved on a Nāga pillar and refers in the beginning to the eight Nāgas, *viz.*, Śēsha, Vāsuki, Takshaka, Karkōta, Abja, Mahāmbuja, Śaṅkhadhara and Kulika.

In a temple at Saladdīpura (Jaipur State) which may be assigned to about the 12th century A.D. are some interesting sculptures. Above the shrine door on the dedicatory block is a standing image of Śiva with Gaṇapati on his proper right and the goddess Vaishṇavī on his left. The door jambs are sculptured with the remaining *saptamātṛis*. Above on the frieze are the *navagraha*. The exterior of the shrine contains three central niches, of which the niche on the north side is occupied by Vārāhī, that on the south by Chāmuṇḍā and the third by a goddess with eight hands. Each of these goddesses has a man for her *vāhana*. The outside walls of the shrine contain representations of the *ashṭa-dikpālakas*. Kubēra is here shown with the ram as his vehicle and Nirṛiti with a man (*not* a dog). Yama has two hands of which the left holds a skull-crowned mace.

At Phalodī in Jodhpur State, are two ancient temples, one of Pārśvanātha and the other of Brahmāṇī. The legend concerning the origin of the former is that the image of Pārśvanātha beneath a tree used to be spontaneously bathed with milk from a cow belonging to a Jaina. The Jaina originally suspected the cowherd but was eventually satisfied as to how the milk of the cow was being disposed of. This image of Pārśvanātha was then enshrined in the present temple. The same legend is related about the origin of the Jalakaṇṭhēśvara temple at Vellore (in the Madras Presidency). Here the god Śiva in the form of a five-headed cobra[1] takes the place of the image of Pārśvanātha.

V. VENKAYYA.

[1] H. A. Stuart, *Manual of the North Arcot District*, Vol. II. pp. 418 ff.

THE KANISHKA CASKET INSCRIPTIONS.

THE very admirable impressions which Mr. Marshall has made of the inscriptions on the lid and sides of the Kanishka casket found at Shāh-jī-kī-Ḍhērī in March 1909 are here published for the first time, for the benefit of those who wish to compare the originals with the transcripts and translations which I have previously published elsewhere.[1]

The writing is everywhere rendered in series of faint and minute dots, which made the preparation of facsimiles an exceptionally difficult and delicate task, which, however, Mr. Marshall has managed to achieve with the splendid results here shown. (Plates LII and LIII.) The excellent photograph of the casket, with the coin found near it and the crystal reliquary contained in it, which held the few fragments of bone which were the Buddha Relics, is also published here, in order to render this paper a self-contained record of the epigraphs. For the photograph as well as for the impressions my acknowledgments are due to Mr. Marshall.

The writing itself is in the cursive script of the Kharōshṭhī alphabet, the individual *aksharas* measuring about $\frac{3}{16}''$ to $\frac{3}{8}''$ in height. In form they are clearly later than the characters of the Taxila copper-plate of Patika, which are also dotted, and a pronounced tendency is noticeable toward a flourish to the left at the bottom of all letters permitting of this addition. This flourish resembles the *u*-vowel as written in the Kharōshṭhī of the oldest period, but confusion is avoided by indicating the real *u* by a definitely closed loop.

The language is a consciously Sanskritizing form of Prākrit, witness the genitives *Sarvastivadina*[*ṁ*] and *Sarvasatvana*[*ṁ*] side by side with the compound *hidasuhartham*; but possibly the conventional or stereotyped nature of the formulæ may explain the strongly Sanskritic form which these brief epigraphs show. One feels that it verges on correct Sanskrit.

As regards the interpretation of the inscriptions I have little or nothing to add to my previously published remarks, but I nevertheless reprint my readings here for convenience of reference, mentioning a few points where possible emendations have occurred to me.

[1] *Cf. Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, Frontier Circle*, for 1908-09, pp. 19 and 20, and *A. S. R.* for 1908-09, pp. 51 ff. *Cf.* also *J. R. A. S.* for 1909, p. 1058.

The first of the four (*cf.* Plate LII, figure *b*), which is found on the top of the lid, running across the petals of the full-blown lotus with which this surface is decorated, I read:—

Acharyana[ṁ] Sarvastivadina[ṁ] parigrahe.

This may be rendered, "For the acceptance (or, as the property) of the Doctors of the school of Sarvāstivādins." At first I thought the first *akshara* of the last word was certainly *pra*, but I am less sure of this now, and no longer feel warranted in representing the original as a mistaken writing. The whole is of course a familiar formula, calling for no special remark. Nor need we perhaps be surprised at finding the dedication of Kanishka's Buddha Relics addressed to a sect of the Hīnayāna, since the authorities are agreed that the codification at the Council of Kanishka was in accordance with the doctrine of the Sarvāstivādins, and Hiuen-Thsang specifically mentions the fact that even in his time the priests living in Kanishka's monastery adjoining the great *stūpa* of Peshāwar followed the Little Vehicle.[1]

But, with Kanishka's adherence to the Hīnayāna so abundantly proved, it is difficult to follow Mr. Vincent Smith's argument that the occurrence on Kanishka's coins of the Buddha figure in the midst of a crowd of heterogeneous deities is due to the prevalence of Mahāyānism.[2]

Kanishka's conception of Buddhism appears certainly to have been the conception of the Sarvāstivāda school, and that this school belonged to the Hīnayāna is established.[3] It is, however, undoubtedly surprising, if this is so, that the tradition of Kanishka's Council should have been so completely forgotten among the Hīnayānists in the south, and knowledge of it have been preserved only among those northern nations where the Mahāyāna predominates. How is it, in fact, that a self-acknowledged Hīnayānist has become the hero of the Mahāyāna schools? Perhaps the explanation of the seeming paradox is to be found in the lack of really important differences between the two at that early age, and particularly among the largely un-Indian peoples of the North-West Frontier. Even to-day the Hindus of the Peshāwar valley would seem hopelessly lax to the stricter Brahmans of Benares, and in all probability even the Hīnayāna of Gandhāra would have seemed unorthodox to the old assemblies of Magadha: while possibly the currency of the Kanishka tradition in the north may have been due to geographical rather than sectarian causes in the first instance.

The second inscription (*cf.* Plate LIII. fig. *a*), which occurs between the figures of the flying geese in the band decorating the lower edge of the lid, is unfortunately illegible now, as the metal here is more corroded than anywhere else, and the surface has peeled off in several places. A few individual *aksharas* can be traced with some

[1] *Cf.* Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. 104.

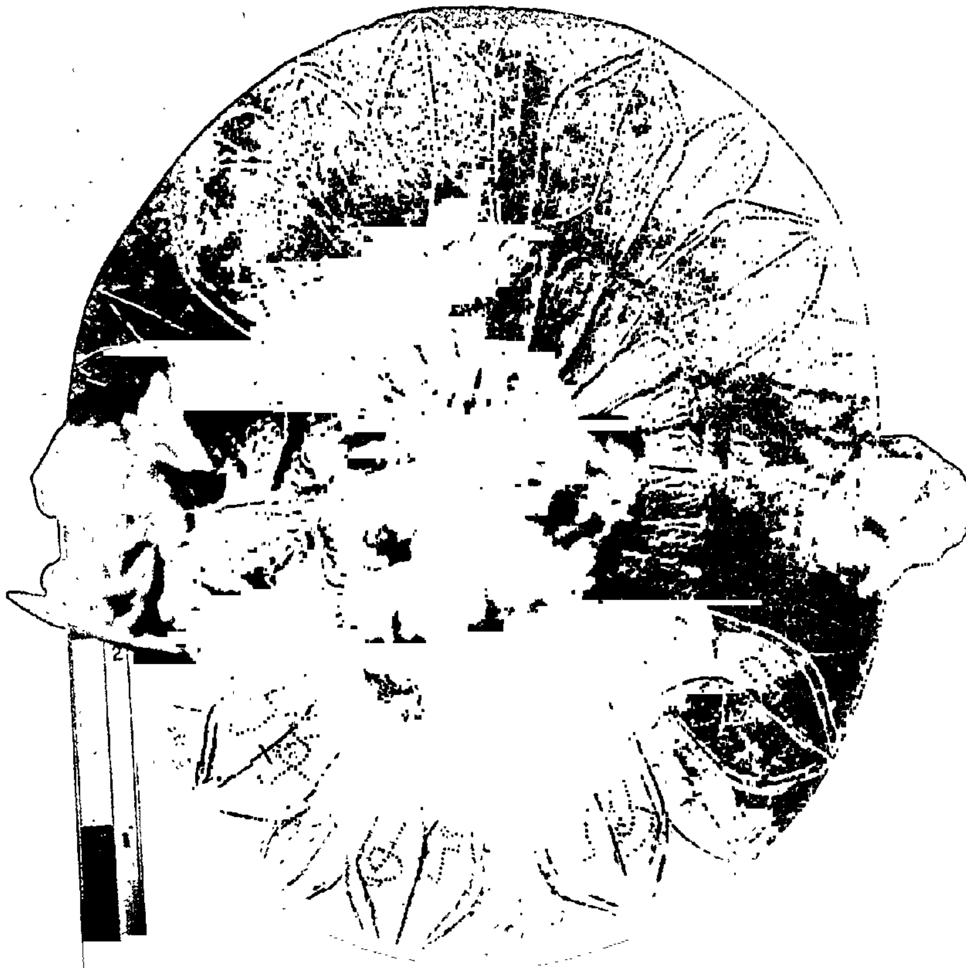
[2] *Cf.* V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 1st ed., p. 233, 2nd ed., p. 248.

[3] *Cf.* Takakusu's introduction to I-Tsing's *Record of the Buddhist Religion*, pp. 21*ff.* The remark by I-Tsing (p. 14) [illegible] in other places some practise in accordance with one, some with [illegible] Peshāwar body of Sarvāstivādins were Mahāyānists after all, [illegible] testimony of Hiuen-Thsang that Kanishka's monastery followed the Little Vehicle removes all doubt [illegible]

KANISHKA CASKET INSCRIPTIONS.



(*a*) BRONZE CASKET, CRYSTAL RELIQUARY AND COIN.



degree of certainty, and, when I had the original before me, I thought I could detect traces of three connected characters, *ka*, *na*, and *shka*; but the facsimile does not permit even this hypothetical reading. I must therefore leave this one of the inscriptions quite untouched.

The third epigraph (*cf.* Plate LIII, fig. *b*) is found on the main body of the casket, between the heads of the figures in the principal frieze, and, as can be seen from the impression here published, is in the main readable with certainty as follows:—

deyadharmo sarvasatvana [*ṁ*][1] *hidasuharthaṁ bhavatu.*

This is another well-known formula and signifies, "May this pious gift redound to the welfare and happiness of all creatures."—No doubt can attach to the majority of the *aksharas* here, and the only points calling for special mention are the peculiar forms of certain conjuncts. In Bühler's Tables the form given for *rma* is evidently the same in essentials as we have it here, with the addition of an oblique stroke on the left. The precise value of this I am somewhat doubtful about. But it is obviously intentional, and apparently meant for a vowel stroke, and for these reasons I venture to read the symbol as *rmo*. I should note, though, that I can find no other instance where the stroke for *o* is added at this angle, which, indeed, appears to be an exact reversal of the usual inclination. A vowel mark which is almost identical with this occurs in connection with a *ya* on the lion capital at Mathurā, and with *ya* is registered by Bühler as representing *e*. But the absence of other nominatives in *e* in these casket inscriptions, as well as the strong Sanskritization noticeable both lead me to prefer the reading *o*, despite the incorrect *sandhi* involved. One wonders if the unusual position of the stroke may not perhaps be due to the shape of the *akshara* itself. The irregularity of the *e* with *ya* certainly is attributable to this cause, and a further analogous instance is seen in the way the *i*-vowel is written across the *akshara hi* in the word *hidasuharthaṁ* of our epigraph. Another interesting comparison is the *tva* which is different in form to that shown by Bühler. I confess that the constituent elements in this complex are not at all clear to me, but there can be no doubt as to the reading. Neither can I reduce to its elements the symbol for *rthaṁ*; the difference between it and the form for *thra* which Bühler gives, may be due to an intention of indicating the *anusvāra* by a kind of subscript[2]. On this assumption I have transcribed the *akshara* as *rthaṁ*, but unfortunately I have not been able to find any exact parallel to it. Of the single consonants attention may perhaps be called to the *ya* and the *dha* in the first word, as the former shows the late square form of this letter which so closely resembles a *śa*, while the latter is more compactly written, and at the same time more angular, than any of the symbols for *dh* registered by Bühler. None of the other

[1] Sir Aurel Stein notes, apropos of the *ṁ* I supply: "I think the remnant of a small curve to the left at the foot of the character *na* can be made out in the original. This would represent the *anusvāra ṁ*."

[2] To Sir Aurel Stein, again, I am indebted for the following note:—"The indication of the *anusvāra* by a curve to the left, or, in the case of certain letters which have no stem, by a small crescent placed below the letter, is quite a common feature in my Kharōshṭhī documents on wood and leather from Niya, etc. See Rapson on the *Alphabet of Kharōshṭhī Documents, etc.*, in *Actes du XIV Congrès Internat. des Orientalistes*, Vol. I, 1905, pp. 5, 11. Also various plates with such records in *Ancient Khotan*, and Boyer *Journal Asiatique*, 1905, pp. 464 ff."

aksharas present any variations of interest from the usual type, and apart from the question of the *o* in *deyadharmo*, and the *anusvāra* in *rthaṁ* the reading of the whole inscription may be called certain. About its meaning, of course, there is no doubt whatever.

And now we come to the last and most important of the four epigraphs (*cf.* Plate LII, fig. *c*), namely, the one incised in the level spaces between the feet of the figures in the main frieze on the body of the casket. Here, very unfortunately, two or three difficulties do arise, and this is why the impressions are published, at Dr. Vogel's wise suggestion, in order that other scholars may satisfy themselves as to the correctness or otherwise of my interpretation. My own reading of the line is:

dasa agiśala navakarmi (K)anishkasa vihare mahasenasa saṅgharame,[1]

and my original translation, by which I still abide, ran,

"The slave Agisalaos, the Superintendent of Works at the Vihāra of Kanishka in the monastery of Mahāsēna."

In defence of this rendering let me note the following. The word *vihare* I understand to refer to the great monument which we now call the "*stūpa*" of Kanishka, where the casket was found, but which from the account given by Hiuen-Thsang certainly appears to have partaken more of the nature of a temple or pagoda than any actual *stūpa* which has been preserved to us; witness the repeated references to its many stories and the legend of the robbers who "wished to go in and steal."[2] This would certainly seem to imply an inner chamber in the monument (which may indeed have been as a whole not altogether dissimilar to the great temple or tower at Bōdh-Gayā), and the designation of it as a *vihāra* would thus be perfectly correct. According to Fa Hien there seem to have been many such *vihāras* in this district, each containing some object traditionally associated with the Buddha, which it is clear from the accounts given must have been more in the nature of temples or towers than actual *stūpas*. Assuming therefore, that Kanishka's *vihāra* was one of this number, I understand the present inscription to be, as it were, the signature[3] of the officer in charge of its construction for Kanishka, and I take it that this new pagoda was originally built at or near an older foundation then known as Mahāsēna's Monastery. Of Mahāsēna or his monastery nothing is known, but it may readily be supposed that the latter was a smaller and humbler structure than ultimately proved necessary for the accommodation of the large body of priests brought together by the king, and that it then gave way before the larger monastery which the Chinese pilgrims found associated with Kanishka's name, and portions of which we have now recovered. No other interpretation seems possible nor need any other be sought, since nothing here assumed is contrary, either to the facts as we know them, or to inherent probability.

[1] Sir Aurel Stein notes, in regard to the initial of this word: "Is not this character to be read *saṁ* with subscribed *anusvāra*? This nasalisation of the vowel before nasal consonant is a regular feature in the Kharōshṭhī documents on wood from Niya. See Rapson, *loc. cit.*, pp. 81, 12 (e. g. *vishñarti*, *pumña*, etc.)".

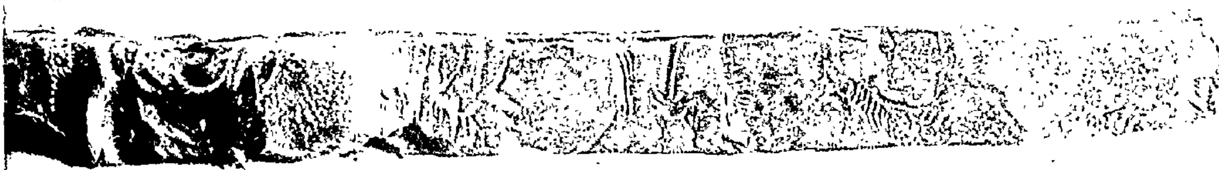
[2] Beal, *op. cit.*, Volume I, p. 102.

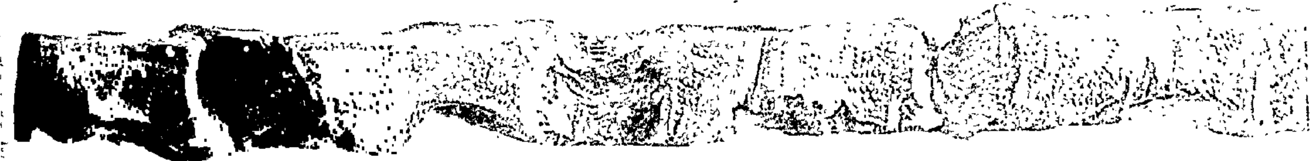
[3] Against this interpretation of the epigraph Dr. Venis urges the absence of a verb; but in the endorsement on the Taxila plate of Patika the phrase is simply *Patikasa chhatrapa Liaka*, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 56.





(*a*) INSCRIPTION NO. 2.





(*b*) INSCRIPTION NO. 3.





(*c*) INSCRIPTION NO. 4.

The minutiæ of the reading, however, are unfortunately less certain than the general purport of the whole. To begin with, the first word, *dasa*, which I take to be $=$ *dāsa* $=$ *slave*, is so curiously spaced that doubt as to the correctness of the reading is legitimate; nay, more, in the impression now before me I almost seem to detect traces of dots between the *da* and the *sa*, which were not visible to me on the original, so that there is at least a possibility that the first word contained three syllables instead of two. But I am by no means sure that these dots do actually occur. I assumed originally that the lines faintly traceable at this point were ornamental streamers depending from the frieze, as is certainly the case with the curious zigzags in the second space and at various other points throughout the inscription, and it may well be that this is actually the case. At all events, no third *akshara* is sufficiently visible for me to suggest even a hypothetical reading for it, and I am therefore constrained to abide by my former reading as by far the most probable, to my own mind at least. The next difficulty to note, if difficulty it be, is the initial letter of the second word, which I have read as Agiśala, and interpreted, with Mr. Marshall's help, as the Greek name Agisalaos. In older Kharōshṭhī this *akshara* would certainly be read as *u*; but, despite the conspicuous flourish to the left at the bottom of the letter, there is no doubt, so far as I can see, that the vowel actually intended is a simple *a*; for elsewhere throughout these inscriptions even elaborate flourishes like this are manifestly decorative and wholly without phonetic significance, while on the other hand a real *u* is clearly marked by a closed loop. The difficulty here, therefore, may fairly be called more apparent than real, and the reading *Agiśala* may stand with confidence. The next point is the initial letter in the following word. It is perhaps barely possible that the *n* here is not dental but cerebral. But since cerebralization would be incorrect, and the apparent length of the hook to the right may be due to the ornamental zigzag which here comes in from above to obscure the writing, I prefer to assume that the dental is intended, as it should be. The following *akshara*, *va*, is clear enough, and I do not think the succeeding *ka* will be challenged, but the next complex is not so clear. It seems to me, though, that there can be no reasonable doubt but what we have here a repetition of the curious *akshara* in the third epigraph which I have read as *rmo*, with the difference that here the vowel stroke crosses the main line, *i.e.*, is here the vowel *i* instead of the vowel *o* as above. In this way I arrived orginally at my reading *navakarmi* for the whole word, and I see no reason to alter this reading now, despite the very real difficulty in assuming the form *navakarmi* instead of the much more usual and indeed common form *navakarmika*.[1] The difficulty is of course increased by the fact that I do see, or think I see, a *ka* as the initial of the following word, the important proper name *Kanishkasa*. But this *ka*, it must be confessed at once, is

[1] The word *navakamika* occurs in the following inscriptions:—Sōnāri Stūpa railing inscription, *cf.* Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes* p. 313, Pl. XXIII, 8; Barhut railing inscription now, in the Indian Museum, *cf.* Hultzsch, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 233, No. 76; Kanheri cave inscription, *cf. Archl. Survey, W. India*, Vol. V, p. 75 *f.*, No. 4, Pl. LI. In the form *navakamaka* in Amarāvati sculpture inscription, *cf.* Hultzsch, *Z.D.M.G* Vol. XL, p. 346, No. 53; and in the form *navakarmiga*, in the Manikiala inscription, *cf. J.R.A.S.* for 1909, pp. 645 *ff.*—[Ed.]

very doubtful. In support of my contention that this is the correct reading, despite the obscurity of the *akshara*, I would urge the following. First of all there is no doubt, there can be no doubt, but that this is Kanishka's casket, because it was found, associated with a coin of Kanishka, below the foundations of what, for reasons published elsewhere, is most certainly Kanishka's *stūpa*. That some royal personage is depicted in the figure above the word of which this *akshara* is the initial is proved by the figures of the sun and moon deities which Dr. Vogel has detected behind the shoulders of that figure, as well as by an indication of the halo. That, again, this monarch was of Kushāṇ race is manifest from the whole style of the image, which agrees in all respects with the royal figures on the Kushāṇ coins. That the word under discussion is the name of this monarch is shown, inferentially, by the way in which it is spaced to right and left of the feet, and unmistakably, by the third syllable, which is quite obviously *shka*. So far, therefore, it is clear that the word in question must be the name of a Kushāṇ king, and one of the two (or possibly three) which contain the peculiar *akshara shka*. But no one can possibly deny that the consonant of the second syllable is *n*, while it is equally clear that the fourth *akshara* is *sa*. The vowel of the second syllable, unfortunately, is not so certain. It would perhaps be somewhat easier, as the inscription now stands, to read the vowel *a* than the vowel *i*; but at the same time due consideration should be given to the fact that there is at least one dot which seems superfluous for a simple *na* and which can most easily be explained as the first of the series which originally formed the *i*-stroke, the others having now been lost.[1] In any case, we have as a certainty either—*nashkasa* or—*nishkasa* as the genitive of what is, beyond all question, the proper name of the Kushāṇ monarch who deposited the only casket contained in the depths of what is certainly Kanishka's *chaitya*. In these circumstances, therefore, I have not the slightest hesitation whatsoever in reading the word before us as *Kanishkasa*, nor do I believe that the reasonableness of this reading can be challenged, despite the obscurity of the initial *akshara*. To my own eye I must confess this symbol looks more like a simple *a* than it does like a *ka*, and if this is really the case it may perchance be actually the final syllable of the preceding word, which would give us *navakarmia* for *navakarmika*, with Prākṛitic elision of the *k* between vowels. But to assume this in so strongly Sanskritic an inscription as all those on this casket are, and then further to assume that the writer actually forgot the initial syllable of his royal patron's name, does not appear to me any simplification of the problem. Or again, reading it as *a*, it may perhaps be that it is still the initial of the king's name with Prākṛitic elision of the *k*. But I can find no authority for the omission of such an initial, and thus I prefer to abide by my original assumption, *viz.*, that the *akshara* was really meant for *ka*, but that it was badly written in the first place, and has become further obscured by being jumbled up with the preceding ungainly conjunct *rmi*, the crowding being due to the writer's desire to space the royal name equally on both sides of the royal figure.

[1] Sir Aurel Stein, it is gratifying to record, declares that he can see two such dots in the original. As regards the initial syllable of the name, however, he says that, while he fully shares my belief that Kanishka's name is intended still the dots to the left, visible at the foot of the *akshara*, tend to support the reading *a*, the possibility of which I have noticed below.

At all events, there is not the faintest shadow of a doubt in my own mind but that the characters before us represent, in either one way or another, the name of the great Kushāṇ King Kanishka, whose figure is clearly depicted above, and in whose mighty monument the casket was actually found.

D. B. Spooner.

THE INSCRIPTION ON "BUDDHA'S BOWL" AT QANDAHĀR.

GENERAL Cunningham in giving an outline of the history of the "Alms-bowl of Buddha" relates how the sacred relic was finally taken to Qandahār "where it now stands in an obscure little Muhammadan shrine."[1] The present writer does not propose to discuss the genuineness and value of the materials on which Cunningham bases his account of the history of the "Alms-bowl;" it was the fact that it "is carved with six lines of Arabic inscriptions" which attracted his attention, the more so as Cunningham adds, "I remember reading the name of Subuktigin and I think also that of Mahmud." The copy of the inscription which Sir Frederick Pollock had sent to Cunningham was forwarded by the latter to Blochmann for decipherment, but unfortunately it was lost and has never been heard of since. Cunningham, however, gives a reproduction of the bowl from a photograph, on which also the six lines of the inscription can be seen. This reproduction is quite sufficient to convey an idea of the form of script used, but, leaving aside the fact that only a part of every line is visible on the plate, the number of words that can be read from it are confined almost entirely to a few that stand right in the middle of the lines. Under these circumstances it is very fortunate that new materials have become available in the shape of two separate sets of rubbings taken at different times, which enable us to establish the general contents and purport of the inscription with perfect certainty, although it is true they do not provide us with the complete text.

The relic, which Dr. Bellew (as quoted by Cunningham) describes as a "huge bowl, carved out of a solid block of dark green serpentine," measures 3 feet 7 inches in diameter and has an upper circumference of 11 feet 7 inches, its total height being 2½ feet. It now stands on flat ground in the small unroofed enclosure of the shrine of Sulṭān Wā'iẓ, just near the grave of that saint. The shrine is situated quite close to the old city (*Shahr-i-Kuhna*) of Qandahār at the foot of the Kaitun hill and beyond Maḥallajāt, at a distance of about two miles to the south-west of the modern town of Qandahār.

[1] *A. S. R.*, Vol. XVI, p. 10; plate III.

The bowl bears inscriptions outside, inside and on the upper circular surface, but only those visible from the outside, which run round the upper straight part of the bowl, have been reproduced on Cunningham's plate and, as already stated, that only partly.

The rubbings had to be taken under trying circumstances and in a great hurry, as it was undesirable to arouse the curiosity of the devotees of the shrine. If therefore, they did not come out satisfactorily, this is in no way the fault of those to whose zeal and caution our thanks are due for procuring them. Whilst not giving up the hope that an opportunity may offer itself, which would allow of rubbings being taken at greater leisure, the present writer ventures to think that the results arrived at from an examination of the rubbings now at his disposal may claim some interest.

Of the text inscribed on the outside a large number of words and also groups of words have come out clearly on both the rubbings or at least on one of them. But as there are many more words in between that are quite illegible and in view of the intricate character of the script which renders the grouping together of letters doubtful as long as the full text is not available, it is impossible to give a transcript or translation of this part of the inscription and I can only offer the following observations.

In the first line the name of Khawāja Ayyūb Anṣāri can be clearly read (حضرتنا خواجه ايوب انصارے). He is possibly the saint whose tomb "situated in the district of Qandahār in the province of Sistán," (1) (قبر واقع ولايت قندهار مرز سيستان) is referred to in the same line. For the maintenance of this tomb "the endower mentioned" (واقف مذكور), who occurs frequently but whose identity cannot be established with certainty, made his endowment (وقف). Probably the produce of some land was set aside for the maintenance of the tomb and it may be that the words "and it was bought in a legally valid way from the children of the deceased" (و ببيع شرعى خريده بوده از اولاد انجناب مرحوم) refer to this; the purchase was effected for "a sum of 18,211... (مبلغ هزده هزار دوصد يازده). In the second line there is some mention of one Amīr Jalāl- ud-dīn Firōz (?) (امير جلال الدين فيرو [ز]) and shortly afterwards we read the words "His Majesty the late King" (حضرة السلطان المغفور). The King seems to have bought certain things "in a legally valid way" and we next hear of "shops" (دكان) in the bāzār of Qandahār; of these fifty-one were situated on the eastern side of the said bāzār (پنجاه و يك جانب شرقي بازار مذكور) and twenty-seven on the western side of the said bāzār(و بيست و هفت در جانب غربي بازار مذكور) are mentioned. Besides "twenty-four" and "a bath situated in" (حمامي واقع در) are set forth in detail; In the third line various conditions attaching to the *waqf* are set forth in detail; the words "another condition of the said endower" (شرط ديگر جناب واقف مذكور) occur various times, but none of these conditions can be made out. The *waqf* was not confined to the upkeep of the tomb; there was also a Jāmi' Masjid as well as a Madrasa attached to it and in connection with the former the matsellers (حصير فروش) are mentioned as well as the Ḥāfiẓ and Imām. The stipends (وظيفه) to

(1) On Sistan and its boundaries see Guy Le Stradge, *The Eastern lands of the Chaliphate*, p. 347, and map facing, p. 335, and article *Afghanistan* in the Encyclopedia of Islam, p. 165.

be drawn by the students of the Madrasa have been fixed, consisting of a certain amount of wheat (حنطه) and barley (شعير) worth so many dinārs; and similarly the stipends of the Professor (مدرس) the Ḥāfiẓ and the Imām. It seems that the latter drew wheat worth 720 dinars, whilst the amount drawn by the cook (طباخ) was 240, and that of the "servant" (خادم) 300 dinars. Later on we read of four *maunds* of salt, two *maunds* of onions, two *maunds* of peas, two *maunds* of turnip (چهار من نمك دو من بصل دو من حمص دو من سلجم) but who was to receive this we do not know.

The names of Sabuktigīn or of Maḥmūd I have not been able to discover, although in a reading so incomplete as the one given above this in itself does not mean much. If we could be certain that Amīr Jalāl-ud-dīn Fīrōz was identical with the "late Sulṭān" mentioned shortly after his name, we might be able to fix at least a *terminus post quem* for the dating of our inscription. But as long as the intervening words cannot be read, the matter must remain doubtful. One would, of course, feel inclined to identify the name with that of Jalāl-ud-dīn Fīrōz of the Khaljī dynasty of Delhi (689—695 H.), but it must not be forgotten that Afghanistan was at that time ruled by the Kert dynasty, the centre of whose rule was Sistān. So we have nothing to help us in dating our document; the form of the script cannot be considered a safe guide: it may point to the eighth, ninth or even tenth century of the Hijra. But there can be no doubt as to the class to which our inscription belongs. It is one of the many inscriptions already known that record the establishment of a *waqf*. No country seems to be richer in monuments of this kind than Syria, although instances are not infrequently met with in other Muhammadan countries also. Quite a number of inscriptions of this class have been published recently by Dr. Sobernheim in his Volume on *'Akkār, Ḥiṣn al Akrād, Tripoli,'*[1] whilst Dr. van Berchem has lately made known one from Damascus dated 529-H.[2] In India we find a very curious inscription relating to a *waqf* in Veravel, written in Sanskrit.[3] In the case of this latter, as well as in that of the Qandahār inscription, we may safely assume that the document recording the *waqf* was written out in Arabic first[4] and that an extract was then inscribed on stone in Sanskrit and Persian respectively, in order to keep the endowment before the public eye. I ascribe it to this that in our Qandahār inscription we find such a number of Arabic words not commonly used in Persian; these words were copied from the Arabic original. Are there any traces of the original document left at the shrine at Qandahār?

The lines inscribed inside the bowl are of quite a different nature. They read as follows:—

کرد این چشمه پر ز شربت قند　　حضرت شهریار خضر ماب

ساخت تاریخ این بدین تعریب　　کاتب العبد جای شربت اب

کتب جلال الدین

[1] *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, Part II, fasc. 1.

[2] *Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé*, p. 39.

[3] See Hultzsch *Ind. Ant.*, *Vol. XI*, p. 242 f.

[4] See a document of this kind dated 641-H, and preserved at Diwrig. (Asia Minor) in *Corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum*, Part III, Fasc. 1 (ed. Berchem & Halid Edhem), pp. 107 ff.

"His Majesty the King, the abode of Khizr (who discovered the water of life) filled this fountain with sherbet: The chronogram of this the scribe, the slave, expressed elegantly thus: '*The place of the sherbet of water.*' Written by Jalāl-ud-dīn."

Jalāl-ud-dīn was, therefore, the composer of this *tārīkh* which—if correctly read—gives as date 919-H. The meaning is that the King, whose name is not mentioned, filled in that year the bowl with sweet sherbet probably for the benefit of those who had come to visit the shrine on the occasion of the *'urs* of the saint or some similar festival. In 919 Qandahār was still in possession of Shāh Bēg Arghun, from whom Bābar conquered it finally in 928. He, therefore, would be the king referred to, unless—which is not very probable—the term Shahriyār be used here as the title of a saint (just as Shāh, etc., are often employed in that sense).

Does the date 919 refer to the inscription inside only or also to the *waqf* inscription? The script seems to me to be identical in both cases, and I think it at least highly probable that both were written by the same hand. But if I am right in assuming this, it does not necessarily follow that the *waqf* was made only in 919; it may have been in existence for some time before an extract from the document was inscribed on the bowl. A complete rubbing would probably enable us to answer this question as well as most others relating to this inscription that must at present remain unanswered.

J. Horovitz.

THREE SCULPTURES IN THE LUCKNOW MUSEUM.

WHILE cataloguing the archæological collections preserved in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, I met with three curious sculptures, one of them Buddhistic and the other two Brahmanical. I am indebted to the Director-General of Archæology for the photographs which illustrate this article.

The first sculpture was discovered in 1877 in the Jaisinghpura *Muhallah* (quarter) of the city of Mathurā (*vulgo* Muttra) by the late Mr. F. S. Growse, then Magistrate at that place, and rescued by him from some washermen who used it as a washing-stone. It appears at first sight to be an image of Buddha seated in the posture of turning the wheel of the Law (*dharma-chakra-mudrā*). The style is that of the early Gupta period. The upper robe covers both shoulders and its folds are represented by conventional lines without the pronounced relief, which is so characteristic of the Gandhāra School. The figure is headless and the arms are broken, so that the posture of the hands can only be made out by the traces remaining on the breast. The figure is seated cross-legged and a portion of the garment falls in front over the pedestal. The most interesting feature of the sculpture is the inscription on the pedestal, which consists of two lines. The lettering has partly disappeared, but fortunately the first portion of both lines is still sufficiently well preserved to be read with certainty. Mr. Growse states that only a few words here and there can be made out.[1]

In the winter of 1907 I had the opportunity of examining the original, and I succeeded in reading the whole of the inscription with the exception of one or two letters in the first line, which remain doubtful.

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 219, No. 7, and plate; and *Mathura, a District Memoir*, 2nd Edition, p. 126 and plate facing p. 114. Subsequently Professor H. Lüders of Berlin has discussed this inscription in his *Epigraphical Notes*. He reads it :—

1. *Deyadhar[m]o-yaṁ Sa ... kuṭum[bi]nyā Buddha ... ra[śri]yīyā.*
2. *da* (?) *ve ... [sa]rva-satvānā[ṁ] Buddhatvāya.*



a.



b.



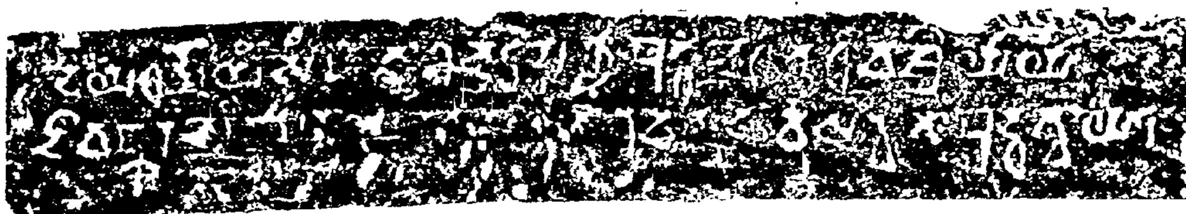
c.



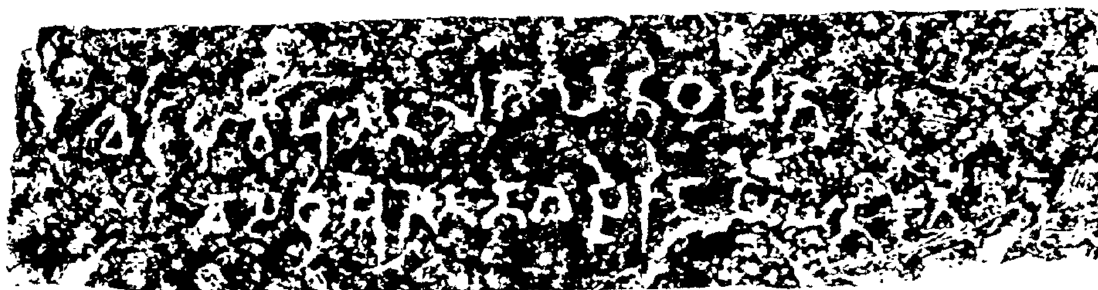
d.



e.



f.



g.

The image is carved out of buff-coloured Mathurā sand-stone and measures 1′ 8″ in width by 1′ 9″ in height. It is very important for the history of Buddhism in India and is, in fact, the only one of its kind discovered up to date. It appears from the inscription on the pedestal that it represents Dīpaṅkara Buddha, one of the mythical Buddhas.[1] The only representations of this Buddha, hitherto known, are found on the bas-reliefs from Gandhāra illustrating the Dīpaṅkara-jātaka.[2] This *jātaka* needs no repetition, but it is interesting to note that the representation of Dīpaṅkara Buddha in the bas-reliefs does not differ in any detail from that of Gautama Buddha in any sculpture of the same school. The Indian Museum possesses ten replicas representing the Dīpaṅkara-jātaka, but in all of these the figure of Dīpaṅkara is exactly similar to that of Gautama. I propose to read the inscription as follows:—

(1) *Dēyadharmō-yaṁ Saṁ[gh]atra]kha(?) kuṭum[bi]ṇyā Buddha[sya dhitu] Dhavaśrīyáyā*

(2) *Dīvaṅkara[sya Buddhasaya pratimā]*[3] *bhavatu sarva-satvānāṁ Buddhatvāya.*

"This image of Dīpaṅkara Buddha [is] the votive offering of Dhavaśrīyā, the daughter of Buddha, and the wife of Saṁghatrakha (*Saṁghatrāta* ?). Let it be for [the attainment of] Buddhahood by all sentient beings."

The syllable following the word *Saṁgha* in the first line is certainly *tra*, but I am not sure of the letter after this. It may be *kha*, but in that case the line should have been horizontal and not slanting to the proper left. The correction *Saṁghatrāta* is provisional. In the second line the first word is clearly legible even in the lithograph published by Mr. Growse. The word *Dīvaṅkara* is evidently a Prākṛit, form of *Dīpaṅkara.*

The second sculpture (height 4′ 4″) came from Bhīṭā in the Allahabad District. Unfortunately the absence of registers in the Lucknow Museum makes it impossible to be definite about the find spot of any archæological specimen in it, and I had to rely on the labels provided by Dr. Führer twelve years ago which now are very often attached to wrong sculptures. Fortunately Dr. Führer had made a note about this sculpture in the Minutes of the Committee of Management. To him it appeared to be the capital of a column. Evidently he did not pay much attention to the inscription, because, had he done so, he would have come to a different conclusion.

It appears from a careful study of the inscription that the sculpture represents one of the earliest forms of the *liṅga* discovered up to date. The top of it is shaped as the bust of a male holding a vase in his left hand, while the right is raised in the posture known as that of giving protection (*abhaya-mudrā*). Below this bust, where the waist of the figure should have been, are four human heads, one at each corner. From the mode of dressing the hair and the large rings worn in the lobes of the ears,

[1] I am bound to point out that in view of the uncertainty of the syllables following the word *Dīvaṅkara(sya)* the above statement must be received with considerable reserve. It seems very likely that the words in the first part of the second line indicate the image on which the inscription is carved, but it is also possible that they designate some locality or sanctuary at which it was dedicated. [Ed.]

[2] Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique* Vol. I, pp. 273 ff.

[3] Pandit D. R. Sahni, from a study of the original, proposes to read the second line:—
Dīvaṅkara[sya bimbaṁ] yad=atra puṇyaṁ tad=[Ed.]

it appears that these are busts of females. They are more or less defaced, but still retain sufficient detail to admit of identification. The upper part of the head of the male is broken, only the portion below the nose being extant. The male figure wears a cloth which is thrown over the left shoulder, the folds being shown by a double line running over the breast. The vase held in the left hand resembles, to some extent, the ointment vessel found in the figures of Bōdhisattvas of the Gandhāra School. The left ear of the male figure bears two circular pendants, which may be earrings. In front, immediately below the heads of the females, the phallus is marked by deeply drawn lines. To the proper left of this, is the inscription to which I have already referred. The lower part of the stone has been shaped as a tenon to be fitted in a mortice.

The inscription is in a good state of preservation, and with the exception of the last three letters, can be deciphered very easily. On the ground of palæographical evidence it may be safely assigned to the first century B.C. The letters *pa*, *ha*, and *la* have become rectangular. The dental *sa* retains only one hook instead of two, the other having been transformed to an upper vertical limb. The base line of *na* has become curved and in *ya* the middle vertical line has become equal in length to the other two. This by itself is sufficient indication of the date of the inscription and consequently of that of the sculpture.

Text.

(1) *Khajahuti-putanaṁ l[iṁ]gō patiṭhapitō.*

(2) *Vāsēṭhi-putēna Nāgasirinā piyatā[ṁ] d[ē]natā.*

Notes.

(1) There is a vertical line between *kha* and *ja* in the first line, which appears to be accidental.

(2) The *i* in the word *lingō* in the same line is indicated by a slight curve in the proper left vertical line.

Translation.

"The *linga* [1] of the sons of Khajahuti, was dedicated by Nāgasiri (*Nāgaśrī*), the son of Vāsēṭhi (Vāsishṭhī). May the deity be pleased."

The third sculpture is not inscribed. It represents the proper right half of a frieze or probably a door lintel. This is apparent from the well-known Gaja-Lakshmī device which occupied the trefoiled niche in its centre. The extant portion of the scene consists of the right arm and knee of the goddess, one of the two elephants that poured water over her and an attendant female flywhisk-bearer. To the proper right of the attendant is a seated male figure reclining on a large vase. This may possibly be Kubēra, the god of wealth. The goddess Śrī is sometimes represented in sculptures with a vase on either side.[2] The rest of the sculpture shows

[1] When I showed this inscription to the late Dr. Bloch, he told me that the word was *lagō*, of uncertain meaning, and not *liṅgō*, and that, even if it were read as *liṅgō*, it could not be taken in the sense of the phallic symbol of Śiva, because in inscriptions such an image is termed *Mahādēva*. But the word *liṅga* is commonly used in inscriptions and is also the name of a *Purāṇa*. The very name *Liṅga-purāṇa* proves that no such distinction was in existence.

[2] *Cf.* the large Gupta lintel discovered by Mr. Marshall at Sarnāth (*A. S. R.*, 1907-08, *Pl. XX*).

a mass of foliage next the central niche, and a group of figures. Among these we notice two men, nude but for a loin cloth, engaged in wrestling. On the extreme right, one male and three females are watching the contest from a kind of porch. In the centre, *i.e.*, in the space between the wrestlers and the lookers-on, a man and a divine being are standing turned towards the wrestlers. The divine nature of the figure next to the latter is made evident by the number of his arms, which are two in excess of the natural number. In one of his left hands he holds a mace (*gadā*) and in the other a conch (*śaṅkha*). In his upper right hand he holds the wheel, while the lower rests on his hip. The face of this figure has been mutilated, but the emblems which he holds in his hands clearly indicate that he is Vishṇu or Kṛishṇa.

The figure standing on his right holds a bow in his left hand and an arrow in his right. These two figures and the group of wrestlers indicate that the bas-relief represents the fight between Bhīma and Jarāsandha, the king of Magadha. In the *Sabhā-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* it is clearly stated that Kṛishṇa, Arjuna and Bhīma were present in the battle-field. In the beginning of the *Jarāsandha-vadha-parvan* it is stated that Kṛishṇa urged the necessity of the presence of Bhīma and Arjuna[1].

Mayi nītir balaṁ Bhīmē rakshitā chāvayōr jayaḥ
Māgadhaṁ sādhayishyāma ishṭiṁ traya ivāgnayaḥ
Mahābhārata, Sabhā-parvan 20, 3.[1]

After some discussion Kṛishṇa gained his point and started for Girivraja with Bhīma and Arjuna :—

Evam uktas tataḥ sarvē bhrātarō vipulaujasaḥ
Vārshṇēyaḥ Pāṇḍavēyau cha pratasthur Māgadham prati
Ibid. 20, 21.

To witness the battle, thousands of Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras assembled on the battlefield :—

Tayōr yuddhaṁ tatō drashṭuṁ samētāḥ puravāsinaḥ
Brāhmaṇā vāṇijaś chaiva kshatriyāś cha sahasraśaḥ
Ibid. 24, 23.

The presence of Kṛishṇa is indicated by the following lines, where he speaks to Bhīma :—

Taṁ rājānaṁ tathā klāntaṁ dṛishṭvā rājan Janārdanaḥ
Uvācha bhīmakarmāṇaṁ Bhīmaṁ sambōdhayanniva
Ibid. 24, 25.

King Jarāsandha was unfairly attacked by Bhīma and killed in this wrestling contest.

The sculpture measures 3′-3″ by 9½″. It may be assigned to the early Gupta period on the ground of its style. It came from Gaṛhwā, a mound near Bhīṭā in the Allahabad District.

R. D. BANERJI.

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[1] We quote the new South-Indian edition published at Kumbakonam 1906-10 by Krishnacharya and Vyasacharya.

THE HOYSAḶAS IN THE CHŌḶA COUNTRY.[1]

AN indigenous family of kings that ruled over the modern Mysore State, or rather over the whole Karṇāṭa kingdom of old,[2] between the 11th and the 14th centuries of the Christian era, were the Hoysaḷas. In the volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* Mr. Rice has given us an exhaustive account of them so far as could be made out from the Mysore records. It is therefore unnecessary to tread once again over the ground so thoroughly explored by that scholar regarding the origin and progress of the Hoysaḷas in the earlier period of their history. It may, however, be noted that the great conqueror of the family was Vishṇuvardhana who established the reputation of the Hoysaḷas as a powerful ruling race and that his grandson was Vīra-Ballāḷa II, who by his great prowess and conquests actually acquired the titles of an independent sovereign and made the dynasty known to subsequent ages by the name Ballāḷa. Vīra-Nārasiṁha II (A.D. 1220[3] to 1234) the next Hoysaḷa king appears to have extended his dominion farther south, even into the interior of the Chōḷa country. An attempt has been made in the sequel to put together the information about Nārasiṁha II and the Hoysaḷa kings who succeeded him so far as could be collected from their records copied in the Tamil districts of the Chōḷa country by the Madras Epigraphical department since 1886. Conformatory evidence from Kannaḍa records of the Mysore State will also be quoted, as occasion requires it.

The development of events in the Chōḷa kingdom which favoured the advance of the Hoysaḷas at the beginning of the 13th century A.D., may briefly be examined

[1] An article by me entitled "the Hoysaḷas in and beyond Mysore" appeared in Volume II, No. 4 (July, 1911) of the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore. The present contribution is mainly based on it; but deals only with the Hoysaḷas and their career in the South. Some slight additions and alterations have also been made.

[2] During the reigns of Vishṇuvardhana I and Ballāḷa II the Hoysaḷa kingdom extended even beyond what Karṇāṭa proper would include. In Nārasiṁha's time however, and subsequently, it appears again to have been limited to the South Canara, Salem, Coimbatore, Bellary and the Anantapur districts of the Madras Presidency, portions of the Belgaum and Dharwar districts of the Bombay Presidency and the Mysore State, excluding of course the small possessions held in the Chōḷa country. The name Karṇāṭa is applied in early inscriptions to the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi, and Mr. Rice considers the Kalabhra mentioned in the Vēḷvikuḍi grant of Neḍuñjaḍaiyan (Madras Epigraphical Report for 1908, paragraphs 25 and 26) to be identical with Karṇāṭa (*Mysore and Coorg*, p. 65n).

[3] Some Tamil records (Madras Epigraphical Report for 1911, paragraph 45) count his reign from A.D. 1217-18 which was perhaps the date when Nārasiṁha was chosen heir-apparent by his father Ballāḷa II in the last days of his reign.

first. Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III (A.D. 1178 to at least 1218) was practically the last great powerful king of the Chōḷas who, it is stated, "despatched matchless elephants, performed heroic deeds, prostrated to the ground the kings of the North, entered Kāñchī when (his) anger abated and levied tribute from the whole (*northern*) region."[1] He was succeeded by Rājarājadēva III (A.D. 1216 to at least A.D. 1248) during whose unsuccessful reign the Pāṇḍyas became aggressive in the South; and in the North, the Kākatīyas and feudatory chiefs like Kōpperuñjiṅga and others, actually assumed independence by subverting the Chōḷa suzereignty in at least a portion of their extensive territory. Internal administration too does not appear to have been quite satisfactory and dissensions in the royal family[2] had also, perhaps, a hand in the eventual decline of the Chōḷas. This being so, it does not become a matter for surprise to hear from records of the Hoysaḷa Vīra-Nārasiṁha II that the cause for his interference in the Chōḷa affairs was ostensibly to quell the rebellious Kāḍava (*i.e.*, the feudatory chief Kōpperuñjinga), to re-instate the Chōḷa on his throne and to drive the Pāṇḍyas out of the Chōḷa country. It is an established fact that by this time the Hoysaḷas in their own land had become quite secure and had advanced so far in power as even to take up the cause of other kings who required their help. Vīra-Ballāḷa II, who was crowned to rule the Hoysaḷa kingdom in A.D. 1173, had assumed the imperial titles of *Mahārājādhirāja* for the first time in Hoysaḷa history, in A.D. 1192, and had successively defeated in battle the Western Chālukyas, the Chōḷas, the Pāṇḍyas and other contemporaneous kings who stood in his way. He bore particularly the distinguishing epithets 'emperor of the South' and 'the destroyer of Chōḷa forces.' One of the near relations of Ballāḷa even claims to have been the ruler of "Dakshiṇa mahī-maṇḍala" (the Southern country). Perhaps it was Ballāḷa II that made anything like an attempt, for the first time, to encroach upon the Chōḷa territory. In some of his records we are told that 'on the East he had shaken Kāñchī, on the West he had made the ocean roar while the great Chēra rose up and fled and the whole of Pāṇḍya kings took refuge in forests entering even those with fear.' In spite of this boast we may not be far wrong if we suppose that Kulōttuṅga III, whose contemporary Ballāḷa II was,[3] was more than a match for him and that the designs of Ballāḷa II would have, if at all, but touched the fringe of the Chōḷa dominions. It must be stated that apart from the desire for conquest and power which was not quite an uncommon weakness among the Indian kings of old, the Hoysaḷas who considered themselves the political successors by right to the Karṇāṭa kingdom of the Western Gaṅgas of Taḷakāḍ, were sadly disappointed in their hopes, by the Chōḷa usurpation of Mysore which lasted from the time of Rājarāja I to that of Kulōttuṅga I and perhaps even down to that of Kulōttuṅga III. Consequently, the Hoysaḷas, it may be presumed, were only waiting for an opportunity not only to replace the rule of the Chōḷas in Mysore by their own but if possible also to invade the Chōḷa country under one pretext or another. This opportunity offered itself and Vīra-Nārasiṁha II was not slow to utilise it to his best advantage.

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 218; also Madras Epigraphical Report for 1908, para. 64.

[2] Rājēndra-Chōḷa III, the successor of Rājarāja, is described in some of his records to be "the cunning hero who killed Rājarāja (*i.e.* apparently his predecessor on the Chōḷa throne) after making him wear the double crown for three years' (Madras Epigraphical Report for 1912, para. 32).

[3] A record from the Kolar district registers that Ballāḷadēva 'was ruling the earth' in the 12th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III.

In the 2nd year of his reign (*i.e.*, A.D. 1222) we are told that Vīra-Nārasiṁha was marching against the Raṅga in the South, *viz.* Śrīraṅgam in the Trichinopoly district, and in A.D. 1224 he is stated to have held the titles "the uprooter of the Magara kingdom" and "the establisher of the Chōḷa kingdom" both of which will be shown, in the sequel to be based on established historical facts. The latter of the two *birudas* clearly indicates Nārasiṁha's march to the South in order, it may be, to establish the Chōḷa king. The reference, however, to the conquest of Magara in the early years of his reign suggests very probably the continuance of a definite plan of conquest which was begun already in the last days of his father Ballāḷa II. It cannot, therefore, be that Nārasiṁha's march was confined entirely to establishing the Chōḷa. He must have been intent upon securing for himself a status and a petty dominion in the Chōḷa kingdom as a compensation, perhaps, for the help which he successfully rendered to the Chōḷa against the aggressive Pāṇḍya, prior to the incidents mentioned in the Tiruvēndipuram record.

An inscription at Badanāḷu in the Mysore district, dated in A.D. 1228-29, speaks of Nārasiṁha's son Somēśvara then perhaps only a *Yuvarāja* occupying Kaṇṇanūr in the Chōḷa country and bearing the imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja*, etc. An earlier record at Tirugōkarṇam near Pudukkōṭṭai, dated in the 10th year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Rājarājadēva (III), (*i.e.*, in A.D. 1225-26) registers a gift of land by Sōmaladēvi, the wife of Sōmēśvaradēva, who was the son of the Pōśaḷa (Hoysaḷa) king Vīra-Nārasiṁhadēva of Dōrasamudra. Nārasiṁha, therefore, appears to have been a friend[1] of the Chōḷa king almost from the very commencement of his reign and to have effectually helped him against Pāṇḍya incursions in the earlier years of his career. Meanwhile troubles, perhaps, were rife in the north of the Chōḷa kingdom and rebellious chiefs had risen up to oppose the Chōḷa power. The Tiruvēndipuram inscription, dated in A.D. 1231-32, is a record of highly historical interest in this connection and has been published by Professor Hultzsch in the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VII.

It states that Vīra-Nārasiṁha despatched two of his military officers Appaṇa and Samudra-Goppaya with the object of compelling the Pallava chief Kōpperuñjiṅga to release the Chōḷa (Rājarājadēva) whom he had imprisoned at Śēndamaṅgalam (South Arcot district) and to invade the dominions of the enemy. Leaving his capital Dōrasamudra, Nārasiṁha II is stated to have marched first against the Mahara kingdom and halted at Pāchchūr whence he issued the above said orders to his military officers. These latter passed through the enemy's country from Pāchchūr and reaching Śēndamangalam, released the Chōḷa emperor and reinstated him. The route followed by Nārasiṁha's officers is given in detail in the Tiruvēndipuram record. From this, Professor Hultzsch has concluded that they must have crossed the present South Arcot district from south to north through the Gajalhaṭṭi pass and that the Mahara (Makara or Magara) kingdom has accordingly to be located in the Coimbatore or Salem district. Referring to the conquest of Mahara, a Kanarese record from the Channagiri tāluka of the Shimoga

[1] One of the queens of Ballāḷa II was named Chōḷamahādēvi. If this was, as her name indicates, a Chōḷa princess, the fact that the Hoysaḷas and Chōḷas had become united by intermarriage either in the time of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III or a little before explains the interest that Nārasiṁha evinced in the Chōḷa.

district says that Nārasiṁha marched 100 *gāvuda* (*i.e.*, roughly 1,000 miles) from his capital Dōrasamudra and captured the elephants of Magara after conquering the haughty kings of the *east*. Another record from the Channarāyapaṭṇa tāluka refers to Nārasiṁha's march on Magara and to his encamping at Chūḍavāḍiya-koppa which Mr. Rice correctly identifies with the modern Muḍiyanūr in the Muḷbāgal tāluka of the Kolar district. There is, therefore, little doubt that the kingdom of Magara which Nārasiṁha conquered after leaving his capital by 100 *gāvudas*, was reached only on marching eastward from Dōrasamudra and *not* southward as Professor Hultzsch has taken it by identifying Pāchchūr with a village of that name in the Trichinopoly district and hence supposing Nārasiṁha to have entered the Coimbatore district by the Gajalhaṭṭi pass.[1] The campaign against the Kāḍava Kōpperuñjiṅga mentioned in the Tiruvēndipuram record does not appear to have ended with the freedom restored to the Chōḷa king Rājarāja III and the defeat inflicted on the rebellious Kāḍava. Nārasiṁha appears to have carried his victorious march further south and directed it, now, against the Pāṇḍya who was apparently still troublesome.

It is stated that Nārasiṁha was encamped at Ravitadāṇakuppa in A.D. 1233, about the same time as the Tiruvēndipuram record, 'with the object of leading a successful campaign on the Pāṇḍya king.' On the island of Śrīraṅgam in that year he must have stopped with his *Mahāpradhāni Bhujabalabhīma* Kēśava-Daṇḍanāyaka. On this occasion a certain Dēvaladēviyār provided for four rice offerings every day in the temple of Raṅg anātha with sandal, civet, ghee, musk, camphor and such other articles as were required for the bodily decoration of the god. The *Kōiloḻugu*, a Tamil work which pretends to give a history of the improvements made to the temple at Śrīraṅgam from almost prehistoric times, speaks of a certain Vīra-Narasiṅgarāja, king of the Karṇāṭa country who built a *maṇḍapa* in that temple. Perhaps the reference is to the Hoysaḷa king Vīra-Nārasiṁha II, and the occasion for his building the *maṇḍapa* was very likely his halt at Śrīraṅgam on the march against the Pāṇḍya. Eulogistic records of Nārasiṁha speak even of a third campaign against the Pāṇḍya, in which Nārasiṁha set up a pillar of victory at Sētu (*i.e.*, Rāmēśvaram). In this third campaign, as in the others, Nārasiṁha appears to have been associated with his son Sōmēśvara ; for, in A.D. 1237 (*i.e.*, three years after his actual coronation) the latter is stated to have granted eleven villages to the two able generals Bōgayya and Mallayya who, in their turn, conferred them on Brāhmaṇas in the presence of Śrī-Rāmanātha at Sētu. It is not impossible that Bōgayya and Mallayya were the generals that actually took part in the conquest of the Pāṇḍya and in planting a pillar of victory at Sētu. The Pāṇḍya king who at this time was powerful in the Chōḷa country was Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (A.D. 1216 to at least 1235). In his records which are almost confined to the Madura and Tinnevelly Districts and to the Pudukkōṭṭai State, Sundara-Pāṇḍya I boasts of "having burnt Tanjore and Uṟaiyūr and presented the Chōḷa country" (perhaps, among chiefs who were subordinate to him). The hostile attitude maintained by Vīra-Nārasiṁha II, against the Pāṇḍya does not

[1] It is not, however, precluded that the generals of Nārasiṁha may have changed their direction southward after marching 100 *garudas* from Dōrasamudra eastward, in order to subdue the generals of Kōpperuñjiṅga and destroy his country.

appear to have been continued long, either by himself or by his son Sōmēśvara; for Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, who succeeded Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I in A.D. 1239, refers to Sōmēśvara, in inscriptions, as his *māmaḍigaḷ* 'father-in-law' or 'uncle'[1] and makes grants for his merit. Political changes in the south must have seriously altered the relations between the Hoysaḷas and the Pāṇḍyas subsequent to the death of Vīra-Nārasiṁha, which may have happened about A.D. 1234-35.

Vīrasōmēśvara or Sōvidēvarasa was at Kaṇṇanūr in the south as early as A.D. 1228 (*i.e.*, about 6 years prior to his actual coronation) bearing the imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja*, etc. It is not ascertained when he was elected crown-prince by his father Nārasiṁha II. But it may be inferred from the Badanāḷu record which supplies the above information, that Sōmēśvara must have been installed *Yuvarāja* by his father while he was yet young and placed almost simultaneously in independent charge of the Hoysaḷa possessions in the Chōḷa country. It was perhaps thus that Sōmēśvara came to be associated with his father in the campaigns against the Magara, the Kāḍava and the Pāṇḍya and won in the earlier years of his reign the epithets 'who rolled down the king of Magar,' 'crushed the forces of the Kāḍava,' 'uprooted Pāṇḍya and re-established the Chōḷa sovereign (*chakrin*):' Records attributable to the regular reign of Sōmēśvara count only from Śaka 1155 (=A.D. 1233-34) and extend up to his 29th year which roughly corresponds to A.D. 1262-63. In the second or third year after his accession, Sōmēśvara is stated to have camped at Maṅgalada-Koppa on a victorious campaign against the Kāḍava king. Evidently the latter seems to have re-asserted his hostile attitude towards the Chōḷa, subsequent to the defeat inflicted on him in A.D. 1231-32 by Vīra-Nārasiṁha's generals Appaṇa and Samudra-Goppaya. In a record from Tirumaiyam (in the Pudukkōṭṭai State), of about A.D. 1246, Appaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka is stated to have conquered Kāṇa-nāḍu, a sub-division of Virudarājabhayaṅkara-vaḷanāḍu. The inscription being dated in the 7th year of the reign of Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, and remembering that Sōmēśvara was the uncle of Sundara-Pāṇḍya II we have perhaps to infer that Appaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka's conquest of that district was now on behalf of the Pāṇḍya king as against the Chōḷa or some other unnamed enemy. In A.D. 1240-41 another chief named Siṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka, perhaps also a Hoysaḷa general, is stated to have invaded the Tamil country. Evidently, the Chōḷa king Rājarāja III in the latter part of his reign became an enemy of Sōmēśvara and it was perhaps in consequence of this that Rājēndra-Chōḷa III who succeeded Rājarāja declares himself 'the hostile rod of death to *māma*-Sōmēśvara.' In one of his records Sōmēśvara is also credited with having 'uprooted Rājēndra-Chōḷa' and with having reinstated him after the latter begged for protection. Sōmēśvara as stated in his later records was 'the elevator of the Pāṇḍya race' whereas, his father Nārasiṁha was known as 'the displacer of the Pāṇḍyas.' Consequently, Sōmēśvara as recorded already must have changed his attitude towards the Chōḷas and become more closely allied also as an uncle to Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.

[1] The Chōḷa king Rājēndra-Chōḷa III who was an enemy of Sōmēśvara also refers to him as *māma*-Sōmēśvara. It is not possible to say how this Karṇāṭa king stood in the relation of an uncle to both Rājēndra-Chōḷa III and Māṛavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. The fact appears to be that he was really an uncle of the latter, but was known to the former and perhaps also to his other enemies as *māma*-Sōmēśvara baving held no more important position in the Pāṇḍya kingdom than that of being the king's *uncle* (*māma*). As suggested in a footnote above, the Chōḷas, by their intermarriage with the Hoysaḷas, may have also stood on terms of close relation.

Vikramapura, the southern capital of Sōmēśvara, has been identified with the modern Kaṇṇanūr near Trichinopoly. The Bangalore Museum plates of Sōmēśvara dated in Śaka 1175 (=A.D. 1253) state that, in order to please himself, the town Vikrámapura had been founded by him in the Chōḷa country which he had acquired by conquest. The Badanāḷu record, quoted above, informs us that in A.D. 1228, already during the lifetime of his father, Sōmēśvara was ruling from Kaṇṇanūr. A Tamil inscription at Rāyaśeṭṭipur also states that he was at Kaṇṇanūr in A.D. 1250. The date when Sōmēśvara actually moved his capital to the south, is approximately determined by an examination of his records from the Mysore State. These state that in Śaka 1159 (=A.D. 1237) Sōmēśvara was ruling in the Chōḷa country. Subsequently too, we find him there in Śaka 1161, 1165, 1166, 1168—perhaps almost till the end of his reign. Narasiṁha III, the son of Sōmēśvara by Bijjalarāṇi, is known to have been installed on the throne of Dvārasamudra in A.D. 1255, while he was yet young. The cause or causes which led to Sōmēśvara thus prematurely installing his young son on the Hoysaḷa throne at Dvārasamudra and himself ruling at Kaṇṇanūr in the Chōḷa country, are not forthcoming. Perhaps it may be that the growing power of the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa on the one hand, and on the other the political changes in the south in which Sōmēśvara apparently interested himself largely contributed to this distribution of attention which cannot but have directly effected the disintegration of the Hoysaḷa power. The Chōḷa history too at this period was one of bewildering confusion. Though weak, the Chōḷa emperor still managed to hold a nominal rule over his hereditary possessions. The Pāṇḍyas flourished side by side with them—now dispossessing the Chōḷas partly of their dominions and now retiring. The northern portions of the Chōḷa country appear to have been permanently snatched away by the turbulent Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva and his colleagues. The Kākatīya king Gaṇapati of Waraṅgal made a dash, just at this period, into the South; took Kāñchī and was encamped on the island of Śrīraṅgam. Amidst such circumstances territorial distribution and demarcation was almost impossible. We find, consequently, Sōmēśvara holding his small estate in the South by entering into political intermarriages with the rising Pāṇḍyas and coming into constant conflicts on that account with rival claimants and adventurous intruders. His records in the Tamil country, outside Mysore, are found at Śrīraṅgam, Jambukēśvaram, Tiruvāśi, Ratnagiri and Tirumalavāḍi in the Trichinopoly district, at Mannārguḍi in the Tanjore district and at Tiṅgaḷūr and Adhamankōṭṭai in the Salem district. We do not know if Sōmēśvara's possessions extended further south beyond Trichinopoly and Tanjore. Some lithic records of the Tinnevelly district, at any rate, dated in the reign of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II refer to grants made and temples built in the name of the king's *māmaḍigaḷ* Vīra-Sōmēśvara, at his own request. It appears very likely that Sōmēśvara, though not in the capacity of a conqueror, may have penetrated into the Tinnevelly district in order to help the Pāṇḍya. This is probably hinted in the record from Nuggihaḷḷi (Mysore district) which is dated in A.D. 1246-47 and refers to Sōmēśvara's forces being at that time on the banks of the Tāmraparṇī river.[1] Inscriptions of Sōmēśvara between his 6th (*i.e.*, A.D. 1241) and

[1] A gift of lamps to the temple of Tirunelvēliyoḍayadēva at Tinnevelly by an officer of Vīra-Sōmēśvara is registered in Appendix C (No. 15) of the Madras Epigraphical Report for 1912.

21st (*i.e.*, A.D. 1256) years are conspicuously absent in the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts. Into this period which coincides with the rule of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II falls the conquest of Kāṇa-nāḍu by Appaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka, the invasion of the Tamil country by Siṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka and the gifts made in the Tinnevelly district by Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II on behalf of his *māmaḍigaḷ*. Though no definite conclusions can be drawn from this paucity of inscriptions in the Tanjore and Trichinoyoly districts. regarding the kingdom of Sōmēśvara in the Chōḷa country between the years A.D. 1241 and 1256, still, the fact appears to be that Sōmēśvara must have now been actively supporting the Pāṇḍya king in his victorious campaigns in the further south. Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II was succeeded by Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I who apparently revived hostilities with the Karṇāṭa king Sōmēśvara and continued doing so till about A.D. 1265 (the 29th year of Sōmēśvara), in which year he appears to have killed the latter and occupied his capital Kaṇṇanūr. The grounds for such hostility despite the close relationship that his predecessor Māṟavarman Sundara bore to Sōmēśvara, are not quite apparent. Jaṭāvarman Sundara was a staunch Vaishṇava, and his record at Śrīraṅgam[1] corroborates the great love which he bore for that faith. Sōmēśvara in this latter inscription is referred to as 'the moon (*Sōma*) of the Karṇāṭa (country) who had reduced this lotus pond of Śrīraṅga into a pitiable state,' apparently suggesting that as a Śaiva, Sōmēśvara must have totally neglected the Vaishṇava temple at Śrīraṅgam and supported the Śiva temple of Jambukēśvaram, on the same island. It is stated that he had established in the 2nd year of his reign (*i.e.*, in or about A.D. 1236-37) several minor shrines of Śiva within the Jambukēśvaram temple, called Vallāḷīśvara, Padumalīśvara, Vīranāraśiṅgīśvara and Sōmalīśvara, which were evidently so named after his grandfather Ballāḷa II, grandmother Padmaladēvi, father Vīra-Nārasiṁha and aunt Sōvaladēvi who, it is stated elsewhere, was to him 'like a mother.' Sōmala-mahādēvi who in the 25th year of Sōmēśvara's reign (*i.e.*, in A.D. 1258-59) provided for the repairs, worship, etc., in these shrines must have been this same aunt Sōvaladēvi for whose merit one of the shrines was built and *not* his queen Sōmaladēvi who, according to the Bangalore Museum plates, appears to have died in or before Śaka 1175 (=A.D. 1253). The magnificent *gōpura* of seven storeys of the Jambukēśvaram temple may have also been constructed in Sōmēśvara's reign. At Kaṇṇanūr was established a Śiva temple called Pōśaḷīśvara (the modern Bhōjīśvara) in the name of his mother Kāḷaladēvi. An apparent cause, therefore, for the revival of hostilities between Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I and Sōmēśvara may have been among others one of a purely sectarian nature. It is interesting to note that in the 21st year of Sōmēśvara's reign (*i.e.*, about A.D. 1256) there was at Jambukēśvaram a lady pilgrim of perhaps a royal family from the Kāśambharidēśa (in the north ?). This was Jākhaladēvi or Jāgaladēvi wife of Jājalladēva of the Saubhāṇavaṁśa. These names have not been identified with any among the ruling families of the north, in the period under discussion. It may further be added that in all his Tamil inscriptions Sōmēśvara signs his name as Malaparoḷu-gaṇḍa, in bold Karṇāṭa (*Kannaḍa*) characters. This was a family title of the Hoysaḷas from the very commencement of their career.

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 7 to 17.

Sōmēśvara's son by the Chāḷukya queen Dēvalamahâdēvi was Vīra-Rāmanātha. Between him and Narasiṁha III (the son by Bijjalarāṇi) the Hoysaḷa kingdom appears to have been divided during the lifetime of Sōmēśvara. From the distribution of inscriptions it is inferred that the Karṇāṭa country included within the Mysore State must have gone to the share of Narasiṁha while the estate outside that was enjoyed by Rāmanātha. Narasiṁha III was only a boy of 15 years when he succeeded to the Hoysaḷa throne at Dvārasamudra in A.D. 1255. His inscriptions are solely confined to the Mysore State and do not, consequently, come under review in this article. One point, however, of some interest is the defeat which he is said to have inflicted on the Sēuṇa kings Mahādēva-Rāṇe and his nephew Rāmachandradēva. The famous general of the latter, *viz.*, Sāḷuva Tikkama is stated to have attacked Dōrasamudra in A.D. 1276 and to have been 'driven back in confusion beyond Dummi' by Narasiṁha III. A fragmentary Kanarese inscription now preserved in the National Museum at Copenhagen (Denmark) refers to the invasion by a certain Sāḷuvēya of a place, whose name is not preserved on the stone. There is no doubt that the missing name is Dōrasamudra and that the events registered in the Copenhagen *vīragal* refer to the attack on Dōrasamudra by the Sēuṇa general Sāḷuva Tikkama. Vīra-Rāmanātha's accession to the Tamil districts coincided with that of his brother Narasiṁha III in the Kanarese country and took place about A.D. 1255. It was also in this same year that Sōmēśvara assuming the imperial title *Sārvabhauma* is stated to have performed the rich royal gifts *tulāpurusha*, *ratnadhēnu*, etc., at Kaṇṇanūr. As Rāmanātha's initial date corresponds with the 21st year of Sōmēśvara and as the latest date for the latter is his 29th, it has to be presumed that Rāmanātha was co-regent with his father during the first eight years of his reign. Rāmanātha's inscriptions are found in the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts, in parts of Salem and Bellary and rarely also in the Bangalore, Kolar, and Tumkur districts of the Mysore State. In some of them Rāmanātha assumes all the titles of his father Sōmēśvara without any omission. It was already suggested that Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I must have killed Sōmēśvara and occupied Kaṇṇanūr in or about the year A.D. 1264-65. Inscriptions of the 12th, 15th and 17th years of Rāmanātha which correspond to A.D. 1267, 1270, and 1271 are found in the temples of Raṅganātha at Śrīraṅgam and Poysaḷēśvara at Kaṇṇanūr. It is reasonable, therefore, to infer that Rāmanātha must have regained his possessions in the Chōḷa country from the successors of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, if not from Sundara-Pāṇḍya himself. Rāmanātha's queen was Kamalādēvī the daughter of Ariya-Piḷḷai who, as his name denotes, was evidently of southern extraction. The uterine sister of Rāmanātha as disclosed by one of his inscriptions at Śrīraṅgam, was called Ponnambala-mahādēvī perhaps after Ponnambalam, a surname of the famous Śiva temple at Chidambaram. Rāmanātha's records in the Tamil country are not many nor are they of much value. Still a few items of historical interest such as the general checking of revenue accounts (corresponding perhaps to the modern *jamābandi*) in the 4th year of the king's reign, the communal repair made to the *Vāṇigan's* well—the present *Nālumūlaikkēṇi* at Tiruveḷḷarai, whose walls, it is stated, had sunk in on the four sides probably on account of heavy rains in the 8th year of the king and the exemption of tax on salt-dealers at Tirumalavāḍi, in the

15th year, are worthy of note. The temple of Raṅganātha at Śrīraṅgam, which was vastly improved by Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, appears to have been substantially benefited also in the 15th year of Rāmanāthā's reign by the gift of a gold crown set with jewels, two flywhisks with handles of gold and a *kalañji* (betel-pot). It is interesting to note that the donor of these was a certain Mudaliyār Kariyamari who bore the titles *Sakalakalāsārvabhauma* and *Sakalavidyāchakravartin* and had himself received the presents now transferred to the temple from Perumāḷ Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva[1] on account probably of his high proficiency in learning. In the Salem district the feudatories of Vīra-Rāmanātha were the Mudaliyārs of Tāramaṅgalam generally known as Geṭṭi Mudaliyārs. His capital above the ghauts, on the Mysore border, was evidently Kundāṇi. I owe to Mr. F. J. Richards, I.C.S., the suggestion that Kundāṇi mentioned in the Tumkūr inscriptions as the capital of Rāmanātha is to be identified with Kundāṇi near Hosur (of the Salem district) and not with Kundāṇa of the Dēvanhaḷḷi tāluka of the Bangalore district, as Mr. Rice would have it. The Hēsar-Kundāṇi kingdom, too, referred to in some Hoysaḷa records of the Bangalore and Kolar districts must have been so named after Kundāṇi near Hosūr.[2] This place still shows ruins of fortifications and structural monuments which indicate its past greatness and importance as the capital of a powerful Hoysaḷa king. Existence of stray records of Rāmanātha in the Hassan district shows that Rāmanātha must have occasionally attempted to deprive Narasiṁha III of his dominions, and there are a good number of inscriptions to corroborate Rāmanātha's aggressive attitude. In the last days of his reign, *i.e.*, about A.D. 1290, Rāmanātha appears to have led a campaign against Dvārasamudra itself.[3]

Rāmanāthā's records in the South do not go beyond his 23rd year which roughly corresponds to A.D. 1277, but in Mysore his inscriptions extend up to his 39th year Vijaya and even also to his 41st. The absence of records beyond the 23rd year in the Tamil districts shows that by this time Rāmanātha may have been dispossessed of his southern dominions by the rising Pāṇḍya king Māṛavarman Kulasēkhara I (A.D. 1268 to at least 1308) and may have, consequently, chosen to stay in his northern possessions now and then raiding, as opportunity offered itself, into the kingdom of Narasiṁha III.

Vīra-Rāmanātha was succeeded by his son Vīra-Viśvanātha in A.D. 1293-94; for, we learn from inscriptions that the 3rd year of the latter corresponded to Śaka 1218 Durmukha. Viśvanātha's records are confined to portions of the Salem district and to the Bangalore and Kolar districts of the Mysore State, his latest record being dated in his 4th year. Ballāḷa III, son of Narasiṁha III, who had succeeded to the throne already in A.D. 1292, is represented to have

[1] This is probably the Vīra-Pāṇḍya for whom Professor Kielhorn gives the initial date A.D. 1252-53 and who has been identified with Jaṭāvarman Vīra-Pāṇḍya, 'the conqueror of Ceylon, Koṅgu and the Chōḷa country' (Madras Epigraphical Report for 1912, para. 37).

[2] Kundāṇi is at present known as Pēvar-Kundāṇi and in one of the inscriptions found there it is called Devasamudram-Kundāṇi. Tīrtham, another important village near Kundāṇi, is designated Tītta-Puśavūr, in epigraphs. Perhaps Hēsar-Kundāṇi of the Kanarese records under reference is either a mistake for Dēvar-Kundāṇi or only a phonetic corruption of Puśavūr-Kundāṇi.

[3] A *vīragal* preserved in the National Museum at Copenhagen refers to a battle in which the brothers Vīra-Narasiṁha III and Rāmanātha were interested. It is not dated but may possibly refer to an attack on Dvārasamudra.

remitted all taxes on temple endowments and also made fresh grants in Śaka 1224 (A.D. 1302) throughout the districts that were once held by Rāmanātha and, perhaps also, by his son Viśvanātha. We have to infer that subsequent to Viśvanātha, about A.D. 1302, the Hoysaḷa kingdom again became reunited under Ballāḷa III and enjoyed apparently a peaceful rule, in spite of the Muhammadan invasions, almost until it was absorbed in the rising power of the Vijayanagara dynasty. In extent too, the Hoysaḷa kingdom does not appear to have suffered seriously in the time of Ballāḷa. Except for the loss of the southernmost possessions in the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts, it was entire. Koṅgu and the Koṅkaṇ were still included in it as also the whole of the Karṇāṭa. Ballāḷa was, as stated already, crowned in A.D. 1292 when Rāmanātha was still alive and evidently, therefore, the fight for dominion which began in the last days of Narasiṁha III may have continued also into the reign of Ballāḷa III.

In A.D. 1310 came the first invasion of Malik Kafur in which the Mussalman general is stated to have sacked and devastated the capital town of Dvārasamudra and to have carried away its hoarded treasures. The town was rebuilt but its charms were apparently lost. An interesting record from the Shimoga district (Sh. 68) states that prince Vīra-Ballāḷa-Rāja[1] who was taken as a hostage to Dili (Dehli) was returned in A.D. 1313, Pramādin. Ballāḷa, according to tradition, is stated to have changed his capital to Toṇḍanūr (Tonnur near Seringapatam). He was actually ruling from Aruṇasamudra in A.D. 1321. In 1323, Uṇṇāmalai-paṭṭaṇam (*i.e.* Tiruvaṇṇāmalai in the South Arcot district) was the *permanent* capital. Inscriptions also mention another capital town, *viz.*, Vīravijaya-Virupākshapura (Virūpākshapaṭṭaṇa) near Hosadurga, Hosabeṭṭa or Hosaviḍur Bukkaṇṇa-Voḍeyar (*i.e.*, Bukka I), one of the two founders of the first Vijayanagara dynasty, was ruling from Hosapaṭṭaṇa in the early years of his reign.[2] The exact grounds for Ballāḷa leaving the ancestral capital of Dvārasamudra are not apparent. The complete destruction of the town in 1327 and perhaps also, in a way, the rise of some of the feudatory chiefs into prominence, may have brought about a change in the capital. The latest date for Ballāḷa obtained from inscriptions is Śaka 1265 (= A.D. 1343).

By this time Harihara I the founder of the Vijayanagara dynasty had already established himself in the Koṅkaṇ. A powerful family of Hoysaḷa subordinates in Koṅgu were the chiefs who founded the fort and town of Daṇāyakankōṭṭai in the Satyamaṅgalam tāluka of the Coimbatore district and who, when the firm hold of imperial suzereignty had become slack, declared themselves independent. They were the rulers of Padinālku-nāḍu with their seat of government at Terkaṇāmbi in the Guṇḍlupēṭe tāluka of the Mysore district and were the descendants of Perumāḷe-Daṇḍanāyaka, one of the able generals of Narasiṁha III. The son of Perumāḷe was

[1] *I.e.* Vīra Virūpāksha Ballāḷa IV, referred to later on.

[2] Mr. Rice doubtfully identifies it with Hosadurga in the Chitaldroog district. It appears very tempting to identify Hosadurga, Hosabeṭṭa or Hosaviḍu with Hosapaṭṭaṇa and that again with the modern Hospet in the Bellary district particularly on account of its alleged proximity to Vīravijaya Virūpākshapaṭṭaṇa which as it stands is a fitting name or *surname* of the town surrounding the Virūpāksha temple at Hampe. This suggestion, no doubt, unsettles the theory of the foundation of the town of Vijayanagara for the first time during the reign of Harihara I. The existence even now of a Hoysaḷa inscription in the Virūpāksha temple leaves it beyond doubt that the temple (and perhaps also a town connected with it) were at that place long before the Vijayanagara capital was established.

Mādhava-Daṇḍanāyaka who assumed the titles 'the subduer of Nīlagiri,' Immaḍi-Rāhuttarāya Sitagaragaṇḍa, Koṅgaramāri, etc.

Ballāḷa III had a son named Vīra-Virūpāksha Ballāḷa IV, sometimes also known as Hampayya (Hampa-Vodeya). It is doubtful if this prince, who was formally crowned to the Hoysaḷa throne in A.D. 1342, did ever rule. The Hoysaḷa chiefs Harihara I and Bukka I were already growing in power and we may suppose therefore, for all practical purposes, that with Ballāḷa III ended the power of the Hoysaḷas. The memory of their once glorious rule was gratefully remembered even in the time of their political successors of the Vijayanagara dynasty[1] and is still retained in a numerically small section of Brāhmaṇas called Hoysaḷa or Hoyisaṇa-Karṇāṭakas.[2] Many of these Brāhmaṇas are even to-day found in Salem and North Arcot, having settled there in the days when these districts were included in the Hoysaḷa dominion. In the 17th Century A.D., at Veṇkuṇram in the North Arcot district was a petty chief called Kāṇhōji who claimed descent from Viṭṭhala (Vishṇuvardhana?), the Hoysaḷa king of Haḷēbīḍ and erected in that village a rest-house for the merit of his mother. This is the last we hear of the name Hoysaḷa.

In Mysore there exist still in all their glory those wonderful repositories of Indian Architecture, the magnificent temples of Haḷēbīḍ, Bēlūr, Sōmanāthpūr, Araśikere, Tarīkere, etc., of which Mr. Ferguson says "the style to which these buildings belonged attained its fullest development and highest degree of perfection during the three centuries A.D. 1000 to 1300 in which the Hoysaḷa Ballāḷas had supreme sway in the Mysore country."

H. KRISHNA SASTRI.

[1] Bukka I is stated in a record from Penugoṇḍa to have been 'ruling the territory belonging to the kings of the Hoysaḷa dynasty (wearing it with as much ease and grace) as an ornament on his shoulder.'

[2] Another sub-sect of the Karṇāṭaka Brāhmaṇas was the one called Udayagiri-Kannaḍiga to which belonged the able general Rayasam Koṇḍamarasayya of the Vijayanagara king Krishṇarāya.

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[1] The continued series of reports by A. Cunningham (Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India) which extend over the years 1862-1884 inclusive, are marked (C. S.) in this list.
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(*a*) Madras Presidency—*contd.*		
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Srirangam	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Madura	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Tanjore	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Kombakonam	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Chillambaram	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Conjeveram	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Bijanagar	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
(*b*) Bombay Presidency—		
Ahmedabad	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Poona	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Karli	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Ambarnath	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Elephanta	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
(*c*) Bijapur	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
(*d*) Rajputana—		
Mount Abu	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Ajmir	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Jaipur	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Ulwar	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
(*e*) H. H. the Nizam's Territory—		
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(*b*) Golden temple at Amritsar, Punjab	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
(*c*) Delhi	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
(*d*) Græco-Buddhist sculpture from Yusufzai.	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
(*e*) Great temple to Siva and his consort at Madura.	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
(*f*) Meywar	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
(*g*) Buildings of the Punjab . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
(*h*) Great Buddhist Tope at Sanchi.	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
(*i*) Tomb of Jahangir at Shahdara near Lahore.	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
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Ditto for the year 1903-04, Parts I and II.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1905-06.
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Ditto for the year 1904-05, Part II.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1908.
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Ditto for the year 1907-08, Parts I and II.	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Ditto for the year 1908-09, Parts I and II.	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
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Ditto, in 1891.	A. Rea, Archæological Surveyor, Madras.	Ditto, 1891.
Epigraphia Indica and Record of the Archæological Survey of India, Vol. III, 1894-95.	E. Hultzsch, Government Epigraphist.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1895.
Ditto Vol. IV, 1896-97	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1897.
Ditto " V, 1898-99	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1899.
Ditto " VI, 1900-01	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1901.
Ditto " VII, 1902-03	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1904.
Ditto " VIII, 1905-06	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1907.
Ditto " IX, 1907-08	Dr. E. Hultzsch, Professor in the University of Halle and Dr. Sten Know, Government Epigraphist for India.	Ditto, 1908.
Ditto " X, 1909-10	Dr. Sten Know and V. Venkayya, Government Epigraphist for India.	Ditto, 1910.
List of tombs and monuments of Europeans, etc., in the Madras District.	Government of Madras .	Government Press, Madras, 1898.
List of tombs and monuments erected in Madras.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
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Ditto, 1903-04 .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1904.
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Ditto, for the year 1907-08 .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1908.
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Ditto do. 1895 to do. 1896.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1896.
Ditto do. 1896 to do. 1897.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1897.
Ditto do. 1897 to do. 1898.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1898.
Ditto do. 1898 to do. 1899.	V. Venkayya, 1st Assistant to the Government Epigraphist.	Ditto, 1899.
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The Antiquities of Kolhapoor illustrated. (Ser. 350, Sel. Rec., Bombay, N. S. No. 8.)	......	1854.
Extracts in connection with Mahomedan Architecture at Beejapoor, in the Satara Districts, *etc.* (1854). (Ser. 350, Sel. Rec., Bombay, N. S. No. 40.)	......	1857.
Observations on inscriptions on copper-plates dug up at Naroor, in the Koodal Division of the Sawunt Waree State, 1848; with translations and facsimiles, 1851. (Ser. 350, Sel. Rec., Bombay, N. S. No. 10.)	Major G. LeG. Jacob . .	1855.
Rock-cut Temples of Western India.	J. Fergusson, F.R.S., M.R.A.S.	Cundall & Downess, London, 1864.
Report on the illustration of the Archaic Architecture of India, etc.	Dr. Forbes Watson and Mr. Fergusson, General Cunningham, and Colonel Meadows Taylor.	1869.
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Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press and date of publication.
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Notes on the antiquities of the Talukas of Parner, Sangamner, Ankole, and Kopergaum forming the charge of the 2nd Assistant Collector, Ahmadnagar, with revised lists of remains in the Ahmadnagar, Nasik, Puna, Thana, and Kaládgi Zillahs.	W. F. Sinclair, Bo. C.S., and J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government.	Ditto, 1877.
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Reports (from the Collectors) regarding the Archæological remains in the Karachi, Haiderabad, and Shikarpur Collectorates in Sindh, with plans of tombs.	......	Ditto, 1876.
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Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India with descriptive notes, etc.	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Bhagwanlal Indraji Pandit.	Ditto, 1881.
Lists of the antiquarian remains in the Bombay Presidency, Sindh and Berâr, with an Appendix of inscriptions from Gujrat.	J. Burgess, Archæological Surveyor and Reporter to Government.	Ditto, 1885.
Scheme for the protection and conservation of ancient buildings in and around the City of Ahmedabad.	A. W. Crawley Boevy, C.S.	Education Society's Press, Bombay, 1886
List of photographs of ancient buildings and antiquities, Bombay.	......	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1887.
The antiquities of the town of Dabhoi in Gujarat.	James Burgess, LL.D., C.I.E., Director-General of the Archæological Survey of India, and H. Cousens, M.R.A.S., Archæological Surveyor, Western India.	George Waterston & Sons, Edinburgh. 1888.
List of Photographic Negatives of ancient buildings and antiquities of the Bombay Presidency.	H. Cousens, M.R.A.S., Archæological Surveyor, Western India.	Government Central Press, Bombay, 1888.
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Bijapur Guide	H. Cousens, M.R.A.S., Archæological Surveyor, Western India.	Orphanage Press, Poona, 1889.

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Ditto for the months of May 1892 to April 1893.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1893.
Ditto for the months of May 1893 to April 1894.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1894.
Ditto for the months of May 1894 to August 1895.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1895.
Ditto for the months of September 1895 to April 1896.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1896.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1897.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1897.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1898.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1898.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1899.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1899.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1900.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1900.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1901.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1901.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1902.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1902.
Ditto for the year ending 30th June 1903.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1903.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press and date of publication.
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✓Paintings in the Buddhist Cave-Temples of Ajanta, Khandesh, India. Volume I (Pictorial subjects).	John Griffiths, late Principal of the Sir Jamshedji Jijibhai School of Art, Bombay, Fellow of the University of Bombay, Member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.	W. Griggs, London, 1896
✓Ditto ditto, Volume II (Decorative details).	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1900.
BENGAL—		
Account of a visit to Mount Parisnath (in Chutia Nagpoor) and the Jain Temples thereon in 1827. (Ser. 250, Sel. Rec., Bengal, No. 38.)	A. P.	1861.
Ruins of the Nalanda Monasteries at Burgaon, Sub-Division Bihar, District Patna.	A. M. Broadley, B.C.S. .	Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1872.
Report on the Archæology of the District of Midnapore.	H. L. Harrison, B.C.S. .	Ditto, 1873.
Buddha Gaya, the Hermitage of Sákya Muni.	Rajendralála Mitra, LL.D., C.I.E. .	Ditto, 1878.
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Discovery of the exact site of Asoka's classic Capital of Pâtaliputra, the *Palibothra* of the Greeks, and description of the superficial remains.	L. A. Waddell, M.B.	Ditto, 1892.
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Sikkim Gazetteer	......	Ditto, 1894.
Some Historical and Ethnical aspects of the Burdwan District with an explanatory Index (Reprint).	W. B. Oldham, C.I.E., Indian Civil Service.	Ditto.
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Dacca Division	......	Ditto.
Rajshahi Division	......	Ditto.
Orissa Division	......	Ditto.
Chota Nagpur Division	......	Ditto.
Bhagalpur Division	......	Ditto.
Chittagong Division	......	Ditto.
Burdwan Division	......	Ditto.
Patna Division	......	Ditto.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press and date of publication.
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Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Bengal Circle, for the year 1900-01.	T. Bloch, Archæological Surveyor, Bengal Circle.	Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1901.
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Ditto for the year ended April 1903.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1903.
Ditto for the year ended April 1904.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1904.
Ditto for the year ended April 1905.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1905.
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Ditto for 1907-08.	T. Bloch, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle.	Ditto, 1908.
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Ditto for 1909-10.	A. H. Longhurst, Officiating Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle.	Ditto, 1910.
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Description of the antiquities at Kaliniar.	F. Maisey . . .	Baptist Mission Press, 1848.
List of Photographic Negatives of the monumental antiquities in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	A. Führer, Ph.D., Archæological Surveyor, and E. W. Smith, Architectural Surveyor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Superintendent, Government Printing, Calcutta, 1889.
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Ditto for the year ending June 1894.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1894.
Ditto for the year ending June 1895.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1895.
Ditto for the year ending June 1896.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1896.
Ditto for the year ending June 1897.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1897.
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Ditto for the year ending 31st March 1901.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1901.
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Ditto for the year 1909-10.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1910.
List of Christian tombs and monuments of archæological and historical interest and their inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	A. Führer, Archæological Surveyor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Government Press, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1896.
The remains near Kasia in the Gorakhpur District.	V. A. Smith, I.C.S. . .	Ditto.
/Portfolio of Indian Architectural drawings, Part I.	E. W. Smith, Archæological Surveyor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Griggs & Sons, London.
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Plates illustrating the Report on the antiquities in the district of Lalitpur, North-Western Provinces.	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
PUNJAB—		
Objects of Antiquarian interest in the Punjab and its dependencies compiled from statements furnished by the several Deputy Commissioners, His Highness the Maharajah of Kashmir, and the Superintendents, Cis-Sutlej, Bahawalpur, and Chamba States.	......	Public Works Department Press, Lahore, 1875.
Descriptive List of the Principal Buddhist Sculptures in the Lahore Museum.	A. Cunningham, Director-General, Archæological Survey.	......
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Report of the Archæological Survey, Punjab Circle, for the period from 1st January to 30th June 1901.	Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Archæological Surveyor, Punjab.	Lahore Caxton Printing Works, 1901.
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N.-W. F. PROVINCE—		
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Reports of Buddhist explorations in the Peshawar District by the 10th Company of Sappers and Miners.	Lieut. C. Maxwell, R.E.	Public Works Department, Punjab, 1882.
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List of objects Antiquarian and Archæological interest in British Burma.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
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The Po U Daung inscription, erected by King Sinbyuyin in 1774 A.D.	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Government Press, Burma, 1881.
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Inscription of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava (deciphered from the ink impressions found among the papers of the late Dr. Forchhammer).	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Ditto.
Report on the Antiquities of Arakan.	Dr. E. Forchhammer, Government Archæologist, Burma.	Ditto.
Report on the Kyaukku Temple at Pagan.	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
The Kalyani Inscriptions . .	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Ditto.
Memorandum of a tour in parts of the Amherst, Shwegyin and Pegu Districts.	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Note on a tour in Burma in March and April 1892.	F. O. Oertel, Assistant Engineer on special duty, Public Works Department, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.	Ditto, 1893.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press and date of publication.
BURMA—*contd.*		
Notes on an Archæological tour through Ramannadesa. (The Talaing country of Burma.)	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Reprinted from the *Indian Antiquary* by the Educational Society's Steam Press, Bombay, 1894.
A preliminary study of the Po U Daung Inscription of Sinbyuyin, 1774 A.D.	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
A preliminary study of the Kalyani Inscriptions.	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Notes on antiquities in Ramannadesa. (The Talaing country of Burma.)	Lieutenant-Colonel R. C. Temple, late President, Rangoon Municipality, Burma.	Ditto, 1894.
Some remarks of the Kalyani Inscriptions.	Taw Sein Ko, Government Translator, Burma.	Reprinted from the *Indian Antiquary* by the Educational Society's Steam Press, Bombay, 1894.
Inscriptions copied from the stones collected by King Bodawpaya and placed near the Arakan Pagoda, Mandalay.	Maung Tun Nyein, Officiating Government Translator, Burma.	Government Press, Burma, 1897.
Inscriptions of Hogan, Pinya and Ava. *Translation with notes.*	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1899.
Inscriptions collected in Upper Burma.	Taw Sein Ko, Government Archæologist, Burma.	Ditto, 1900—1903
Index, Inscriptionum B. Birmanicarum, Vol. I.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1900.
List of objects of antiquarian and archæological interest in Upper Burma.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1901.
List of Pagodas at Pagan under the custody of Government.	Ditto . . .	Ditto.
Report on Archæological work in Burma for the year 1901-02.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1902.
Ditto, for the year 1902-03 . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1903.
Ditto, for the year 1903-04 . .	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1904.
Ditto, for the year 1904-05 .	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1905

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press and date of publication.
BURMA—*concld.*		
Report of the Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Burma, for the year ending 31st March 1906.	Taw Sein Ko, Superintendent, Archæological Survey.	Government Press, Burma, 1906.
Ditto, for the year ending 31st March 1907.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1907.
Ditto, for the year ending 31st March 1908.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1908.
Ditto, for the year ending 31st March 1909.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1909.
Ditto, for the year ending 31st March 1910.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1910.
MYSORE AND COORG—		
Mysore Inscriptions . . .	L. Rice, Director of Public Instruction.	Mysore Government Press, 1879.
Epigraphia Carnatica—		
Vol. I. *Coorg Inscriptions* .	L. Rice, Secretary to Government.	Ditto, 1886.
Vol. II. *Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola, a chief seat of the Jains* (Mysore).	L. Rice, Director of Archæological Researches and Secretary to Government, Mysore.	Ditto, 1889.
Vol. III. Inscriptions in the Mysore District, Part I.	Ditto . . .	Ditto, 1894.
Vol. IV. Ditto, Part II . .	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1898.
Vol. V. Ditto, Inscriptions in the Hassan District in 2 sections.	L. Rice, Director of Archæological Researches.	Basel Mission Press, Mangalore, 1902.
Vol. VI. Ditto, Inscriptions in the Kadur District.	Ditto . .	Mysore Government Press, 1901.
Vol. VII. Ditto, Inscriptions in the Shimoga District, Part I.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1902.
Vol. VIII. Ditto, ditto, Part II, in two sections.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1904.
Vol. IX. Inscriptions in the Bangalore District.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1905.

Title of work.	Name and official designation of author.	Press and date of publication.
MYSORE AND COORG—*concld.*		
Epigraphia Carnatica—		
Vol. X. Inscriptions in the Kolar District, in two sections.	L. Rice, Director of Archæological Researches.	Basel Mission Press, 1905.
Vol. XI. Inscriptions in the Chitaldrug District.	Ditto . .	Basel Mission Press, Mangalore, 1903.
Vol. XII. Inscriptions in the Tumkur District.	Ditto . .	Ditto, 1905.
Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions.	Ditto . .	Archibald Constable & Co., London, 1909.
ASSAM—		
Report on the progress of historical research in Assam.	E. A. Gait, I.C.S., Honorary Director of Ethnography in Assam.	Assam Secretariat Printing Office, Shillong, 1897.
List of archæological remains in the Provinces of Assam.	......	Ditto, 1902.

List of Public Libraries, etc., to which copies of the Director General's Annual Report, Part II, are regularly supplied.

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United Kingdom.

British Museum Library, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, London.

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Royal Society, Edinburgh.

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Society of Antiquaries of London, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.

Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, Scotland.

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, National Museum of Antiquities, Queen Street, Edinburgh.

Imperial Institute, London.

Indian Institute, Oxford.

Society for Protection of Ancient Buildings, 10, Buckingham Street, Adelphi, W.C.

The Royal Academy of Arts, Burlington House, London.

Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, London.

Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 3, Hanover Street, W., London.

France.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Institute de France, Paris.

Musée Guimet, 7, Place d'Iena, Paris.

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Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Halle (Saale), Germany.

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Royal Museum for Ethnology, Berlin.

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Biblioteca Nazionale, Vittorio Emanuele Rome.

R. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze.

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Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.

National Museum, Copenhagen, Denmark.

Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique, Anvers.

University Library, Upsala, Sweden.

" " Christiania, Norway.

British School at Athens, Greece.

La Société Archéologique d'Athènes, Athens, Greece.

America.

American Oriental Society, 235, Bishop Street, New Haven, Conn, U.S.A.

Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., U.S.A.

Secretary, National Museum, Washington, U.S.A.

Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.

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Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, Colombo.

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Museum of Arabic Art, Cairo, Egypt.

I.—COUNTRIES OUTSIDE INDIA—*concld.*

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Institut Français D'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Caire, Egypt.

Ethnological Survey for the Philippine Islands, Department of Interior, Manila.

II.—INDIA.

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Indian Museum, Calcutta.

*Press Room, Calcutta and Simla.

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Public „ „

Presidency College „

School of Art, „

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Christian College Library „

BOMBAY.

Secretariat Library, Bombay.

University „ „

Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Town Hall, Bombay.

School of Art, Bombay.

The College of Science, Poona.

BENGAL.

Secretariat Library, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta.

University Library, the Senate House, Calcutta.

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Sanskrit College Library, 1, College Square, Calcutta.

Asiatic Society of Bengal, 57, Park Street, Calcutta.

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University „ Allahabad.

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Thomason College, Roorkee.

Archæological Museum, Muttra.

II.—INDIA—*concld.*

PUNJAB.

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Punjab Public Library, Lahore.

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Government College Library, Lahore.

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Secretariat Library, Rangoon.

The Bernard Free Library, Rangoon.

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CENTRAL PROVINCES

Secretariat Library, Nagpur.

Museum Library, Nagpur.

ASSAM.

Secretariat Library, Shillong.

COORG.

The Chief Commissioner of Coorg's Library, Bangalore.

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Central India.

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The Librarian, Dhar Museum Library, Dhar.

Rajkumar College, Indore.

Rajputana.

Library of the Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-General, Ajmer.

College Library, Ajmer.

Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.

Baroda.

Library of the Resident at Baroda.

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